

Compliments of
Sir CHARLES TUPPER,

THE

POLITICAL POSITION**IN CANADA**

S P E E C H

—ON THE—**ADDRESS TO HIS EXCELLENCY****—BY—****SIR CHARLES TUPPER, Bart.,**

OF THE
HOUSE OF COMMONS, OTTAWA,

MARCH 20TH, 1899.

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1899

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SIR CHARLES TUPPER, BART.

SIR CHARLES TUPPER'S GREAT SPEECH.

One of the most remarkable speeches ever heard in the Canadian House of Commons was that of Sir Charles Tupper, the leader of the Conservative party, in reply to the address on the speech from the throne which he delivered on Monday, March 20, 1899. Mr. Bell, M.P. for West Prince, had moved the address in reply to the speech from the throne in an able speech, being seconded by Mr. Martineau, the new member for Montmagny, who spoke in French. Sir Charles Tupper spoke for four hours and a half in a clear and powerful voice, being listened to with enthusiastic approval by the Conservatives, and causing dismay among the Liberal members. He said: . . .

Mr. Speaker, it now becomes my pleasing duty to offer my hearty congratulations to the hon. member for East Prince (Mr. Bell) upon the able speech with which he has just favoured the House, in presenting the motion which has been placed in your hands. The ability that that hon. gentleman brings to the discharge of his duties in this House will cause him to be regarded, I am sure, by every hon. gentleman as a great accession to the debating strength of the House. No person is more gratified than I am to find gentlemen who are elected to sit upon that side bringing to the discharge of their public duties such ability and talent as the hon. member has exhibited to-day (Cheers). I venture, however, to believe that, with the intelligence which the hon. gentleman has shown on the present occasion, before he has been here for a very long period, his views will be materially modified, at least with regard to the cause of the great prosperity which, we are all glad to recognize, Canada is enjoying to-day. I listened with especial pleasure to one declaration on the part of the hon. gentleman, a declaration in which, I trust, he expressed the feeling of every member on that side of the House, as I am sure he did of every gentleman on this side, that we shall best discharge our duty to Canada by recognizing that we occupy no dependent position upon our great neighbour to the south of us, but, with the enormous natural advantages with which Providence has favoured this country, we are able to mark out for ourselves an independent course which will command the respect, and even the approval of our neighbours. (Applause). I regard with great satisfaction the statement made by the hon. mover of the resolution, that he considers the proposition made by the representatives of the United States on the joint high commission in regard to Alaska as a dis-

honourable proposition, as a proposition that no independent man of any party could recognize as other than an invasion of those principles of international law and justice that every country has a right to expect from another. (Hear ! Hear !). The hon. gentleman placed before the House in clear and distinct terms his belief that when the representatives of the United States took the ground that they would not agree to arbitration unless the representatives of Her Majesty's Government and of Canada would agree that, whatever the finding was, the United States should remain in possession of that which the arbitration might find belonged to the Dominion of Canada, they took an attitude which no British subject, whether on this side of the Atlantic or on the other, with a single spark of independence would submit to. In that, I trust, the hon. gentleman has with him the hearty and unanimous assent of the members of this House. The hon. gentleman said that, in the arbitration proposed by the representatives of the United States, by which three members should be selected on each side, and there should be no umpire, it was only too clear that this was only a postponement of the consideration of the question—it was not the adoption of any measure or means by which a satisfactory solution of the difficulty could be arrived at. In that, I am satisfied, the hon. gentleman has expressed the sentiment of every gentleman within the sound of my voice. (Cheers.)

But I shall be compelled to differ with the hon. gentleman as to the cause of the prosperity Canada now enjoys. We shall not differ in our hearty congratulations to the country upon the great prosperity with which Canada is blessed at the present moment. It is a cardinal principle with the Liberal-Conservative party that, whoever may be in power, they are bound, not only in justice to the interests of their own party, but in justice to that which is higher and above party, to recognize that prosperity and to give credit for it to whom credit is due. But I believe I shall be able to show the hon. gentleman—for, with the great intelligence he has exhibited here to-day, I feel satisfied that he is open to conviction—that the great party to which I have the honour to belong may justly claim the credit for the great prosperity which Canada enjoys to-day.

I listened, though not with the same satisfaction to myself, owing to my inability to follow him as closely as I would like, yet with great pleasure, to the hon. member for Montmagny (Mr. Martineau) I should have been glad to follow more closely the beautiful language in which he addressed the House, but I was able to gather enough from what he said to know that the right hon. leader of the House may congratulate himself on having secured in the hon. gentleman a very devoted and a

very credulous follower in this House. When the hon. gentleman ventured to say that the leader of the Government and the Government had redeemed all their promises, I fear that, while he shows a disposition to give unbounded credit to his leader, he also shows that he has not given that careful attention to the subject which alone would enable him to speak with authority. Instead of such an extravagant claim being well founded, the hon. gentleman will find that, when challenged to put his finger upon a single promise made to the electorate that has been fulfilled by the Government and its leader, he will be unable to do so. (Hear! Hear!) While speaking of the pleasure with which I have listened to these hon. gentlemen, I must not forget the very kind and complimentary references that were made to myself by the seconder of this Address. I should be glad to think that I was entitled to even half the commendation which he was good enough to bestow upon me. I will, however, endeavour, as we become better acquainted, to convince the hon. gentleman that, whether right or wrong, in discharging the high and important duties that devolve upon me, I seek, at all times, to take such a course as will convince him that, though we may not see eye to eye, I am moved only by what I believe I owe to the House and to the country. (Applause).

THE CAUSES OF CANADA'S PROSPERITY.

My satisfaction in listening to the hon. gentlemen is all the greater because of the fact that I believe that, had they framed their speeches with a single eye to give credit to the great party that I have the honour to lead, they could not have made their remarks more conclusive or more pertinent to the subject. In view of the attempt by these gentlemen to convince their hearers that the advantages that Canada now enjoys have been due to the course taken by the Government of the day, the House will permit me, I am sure, a slight retrospective view of our affairs.

From 1867 down to 1873 this country enjoyed a very gratifying degree of prosperity, so great as to enable the Government of the day to complete the great work of confederation by bringing in every portion of this great continent lying north of the boundary line and belonging to Great Britain, except only the Island of Newfoundland. When we retired from office in 1873, we handed over to our successors the government of a country in a highly prosperous and satisfactory condition.

What was the result of the five years' administration of hon. gentlemen opposite? Why, Sir, no person requires to be told that that five years of Liberal administration in Canada was marked by a period of the most intense depression, a period of the

greatest commercial and financial difficulty with which any country was ever called upon to struggle. (Hear! Hear!) I do not charge hon. gentlemen opposite, or their policy, as necessarily involving that result. The fact is that during the first five years of confederation Canada enjoyed a marked degree of prosperity arising from the protection which, under a very low tariff, we enjoyed owing to the internecine war that existed in the great republic to the south of us. That happily passed away, peace was restored, and these gentlemen were called upon to administer the public affairs of the country, but instead of adopting such a policy as was demanded by the occasion, they persisted in nailing what they called their free trade colours to the mast, and refusing to adopt any policy for the protection of Canadian industries such as was absolutely demanded. Sir, I need not remind the House that we on this side, in the discharge of our duties then as we are endeavouring to discharge them now, did not hesitate to point out to the hon. gentlemen opposite the course that, in our judgment, they were bound to adopt in order to rescue Canada from the most deplorable poverty and depression that this country has ever seen since the beginning of confederation down to the present hour. Well, Sir, the hon. the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright), in a moment of weakness, I suppose, made a frank confession to the House—I think it was during the last session, or the session preceding it—in which he said, that they had really made up their minds as to the line they should take in the interest of the country, and he, as Finance Minister, had prepared a tariff, but just as he was about to bring it down, a brigade of free traders from the province of Nova Scotia made their appearance in Ottawa, and threatened the hon. gentleman that if he persisted in doing that, they would go into opposition and he would go out of office. (Hear! Hear!) Well Sir, the hon. gentleman concluded that office was of more importance to him than the prosperity of Canada, and he abandoned his tariff which he had prepared, giving a considerable amount of protection to Canadian industries; he abandoned that policy, and pursued that course of free trade folly which landed him and his Government in the slough of despond. And what was the result? The result was that the intelligent electorate of Canada rose in its might on the first opportunity that offered, and swept out of power the hon. gentleman who had admitted that he was only a fly on the wheel and could not do anything in the interests of the country—swept him and his colleagues out of power by one of the most overwhelming majorities that was ever witnessed in this or any other country. (Loud Cheers.) I only mention this as a prelude to what occurred.

THE INAUGURATION OF THE NATIONAL POLICY.

The party opposed to him, the Liberal-Conservative party on this side of the House, declared that if they obtained power they would immediately adopt the policy of giving efficient protection to every Canadian industry that could be carried on properly in this country. Hon. gentlemen opposite will not say that we did not keep our word, they do us the justice to say that when we came into power we fulfilled the promises that we had made to the people of this country, and we brought down a protective tariff largely increasing the duties on the various products that the people of Canada were able to manufacture. The result was that the country was changed in a marvellously short period of time from a condition of the most abject and deplorable depression into a condition of activity and industry. Under their policy, Boston and New York were made the commercial capitals of Canada ; under their policy, money went out of Canada to a foreign country for the products that our people required ; under their policy, people finding no employment in this country, were obliged to follow the money, and population was depleted, poverty was rife, and the only industry that these gentlemen were reluctantly compelled to recognize was that of soup kitchens for the poor. Now, Sir, what changed all that ? What was it that lifted our country out of that deplorable condition into which Liberal misrule had dragged it ? Why, it was that National Policy which, from that hour to this, has created a progress and a prosperity in our country such as we have never witnessed before. (Applause). What did these gentlemen do ? Did they do as we are doing now, hold up both hands for everything that was proposed by the party opposite that was calculated to benefit our country ? Not at all. These gentlemen obstructed us with all the power at their command. The English language is not strong enough to furnish them with the terms of obloquy and contempt to pour upon this accursed policy of protection that they pledged themselves solemnly in the face of the country they would scatter to the winds the moment they reached power. Did they do it ? Sir, the country is prosperous, but it is not from anything that these hon. gentlemen have done. I stand here to-day in the presence of this intelligent House, I stand here to-day in the presence of a people as intelligent as any to be found on the face of the globe, and I challenge these gentlemen here and now to put their finger on a single act of theirs that has contributed one jot or tittle to the progress of the country. (Hear ! Hear !) But what have they done ? They have done something to make it less prosperous than

it otherwise would have been, as I shall be able to show ; but when they say that they have contributed aught in any respect to the progress and prosperity of the country, I deny it, and challenge them to the proof. Why, Sir, we have evidence to the contrary out of the mouths of their own supporters, their strongest supporters, that the policy of Canada to-day, whether it be wise or unwise, is the policy of the great Liberal-Conservative party that made Canada what it is, and that has produced every jot and tittle of the prosperity that exists down to this hour. Now, I may say that we did have a wave of prosperity coming over the country, for these things usually go in cycles. What did we do ?

RESULTS OF THE N. P.

We not only provided for that which they were unable to provide for, the means of carrying on the Government of the country without rolling up a huge debt by deficits, but we were able to complete this gigantic work of confederation by establishing a great international highway from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, in order to carry on the trade and business of the country, and to give the means of intercommunication to our own people. (Cheers.) Not only were we able to do that, but at the same time we expended no less than \$36,500,000, from 1878 to 1896, in deepening the canals so as to obtain a 14-foot navigation, thus affording increased facilities for trade and commerce between the people of the several provinces. Having given evidence all over the country in the erection of important public works as to what could be done for Canada, under such a policy as ours, the time came when a wave of deep depression swept over Europe, paralysed the commerce of Australia, paralyzed the commerce of the United States, and consequently affected Canada, as Canada must always be affected by the condition of commerce in the republic to the south of us. During this wave of depression in the United States, when 600 financial and banking institutions went to the wall, when millions of people were thrown out of employment, and when poverty stalked throughout that great country, Canada, thanks to the National Policy, inaugurated by the Conservative party, maintained a healthy financial and commercial position. I shall read to the House what I consider one of the highest tributes as to what the National Policy did for Canada during that period of depression, commencing in 1893. The late Hon. Mr. Wells, one of the most able and independent statisticians in America, wrote

in the "Forum" in the early part of 1894, when everything was at its worst in the United States :



In the Dominion of Canada, separated from us on the north by an imaginary line, there has been no panic, no unusual demand for money, no stoppage of industries, no restriction of trade, no increased rate of interest; in short, nothing beyond the ordinary course of events, except so far as these events may have been influenced by contiguity to what may be termed a financial cyclone whose pathway of destruction was contiguous to, but not within, Canadian territory.

That, Mr. Speaker, is high testimony indeed as to what the National Policy did for Canada. I claim, Sir, and I am prepared to substantiate my claim in the face of any hon. gentleman opposite, that all the prosperity, all the increased trade, all the increased revenue which hon. gentlemen opposite now so loudly claim credit for ; all is due to the great Liberal Conservative party which laid the foundation of the National Policy, and laid it so solid that the winds of Liberalism and all the efforts of Liberals to destroy could not prevail. (Applause). Take the statistics from 1868 to 1898 and you will have further and even greater proof of what the National Policy did for Canada. Here they are :

TOTAL TRADE.

1868	\$131,027,532
1898	304,091,720

POPULATION.

1868	3,371,594
1898	5,500,000

EXPORTS, ALL KINDS.

1868	\$57,567,888
1898	163,785,770

IMPORTS, ALL KINDS.

1868	\$ 73,459,644
1898	140,305,950

TOTAL DEPOSITS IN BANKS.

1868	\$ 52,299,050
1898	212,014,635

SAVINGS BANKS.

1868	\$ 5,057,607
1898	63,056,606

TOTAL REVENUE.

1868	\$ 13,687,928
1898	40,555,238

REVENUE FROM POST OFFICE.

1868	\$ 616,802
1898	4,686,650

MILES OF RAILWAY.

1868	\$ 2,278
1898	16,718

RAILWAY EARNINGS.

1868	\$ 12,116,716
1898	59,715,105

REVENUE FROM RAILWAYS AND CANALS.

1868	\$ 581,503
1898	3,117,670

I do not hesitate to say, Sir, that these figures give clear evidence of the unquestioned value of the National Policy to the country, for they show the greatness and the prosperity that Canada has achieved under the National Policy. To whom is this prosperity due? Is it due to hon. gentlemen opposite? (No, No!) Is it due to the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright), who when he was threatened with the loss of office was willing to sacrifice the best interests of Canada so as to cling to office, although the people starved. (Hear! Hear!) No, Sir, it is due, and no one knows it better than hon. gentlemen opposite, it is due to that great party which elevated Canada out of the position in which she had been placed by the maladministration of the Liberals, and raised it on a pinnacle of such grandeur that these gentlemen opposite, when charged with the duty and responsibility of government, quailed before the thought of attempting to strike down with their unholy hands this policy which had done so much good for Canada. Sir, we have the greatest tribute to the benefits conferred upon Canada by the National Policy in the very fact that the gentlemen now in power—who for eighteen long years engaged in fierce and bitter denunciation of it, who pledged themselves solemnly that they would uproot and destroy it—declare in the face of the whole world that the National Policy

is one that they dare not attempt to change. Sir, the National Policy so commends itself to the intelligent approval of the great mass of the electorate of Canada, that these gentlemen, if they attempt to interfere with it, would be swept from office. (Cheers.)

NO POLICY AND NO PRINCIPLE.

And how did they obtain power? Not upon the issue of the National Policy, nor upon any other issue. Sir, these gentlemen opposite sit there representing no policy and no principle. I challenge any man in this country to point to one single particle of policy or one single principle that they avowed before the people, which they have since attempted to carry into effect. They obtained power by inducing the people of one section of the country to believe one thing, and by inducing the people of another section of the country to believe the opposite. They obtained power by delusive promises which they have never carried out. (Hear! Hear!) I am prepared to show any hon. gentleman opposite that there is not one single question of public policy to which the Liberal party in opposition was committed which they have attempted to accomplish since they came into power. I say that without any qualification whatever. A large number of the hon. members of this House are perfectly familiar with these matters, and they know that what I am stating is absolutely correct, but lest my hon. friends from East Prince and Montmagny, who have not had the same opportunity to inform themselves, might think me mistaken, I will give them a little evidence of what I am saying. I will show these hon. gentlemen whose policy has made Canada the cynosure of all eyes, whose policy has enabled the Government of Canada to put in the Speech, as they have properly done, this glowing account of the magnificent position our country occupies to-day. Any speeches that emanate from my right hon. friend, who with so much ability leads this House, I have always read with great interest, but not always exactly with approval. I am not always able to agree exactly with the view in which he clothes those delightful and eloquent sentences for which he is so famous. I have begun to think, Sir, when I read the speeches of my right hon. friend, that one of the most essential features of oratory is to be able to say whatever the occasion may require without any reference to the facts. I will give my right hon. friend the evidence on which I make that statement. In a very memorable speech, one which I am quite sure will become historical, for it was one of the most important he had ever delivered, when all its

consequences are regarded—a speech which he made on January 4th, 1899, as reported in the Montreal “Herald,” he said:

If we are now purchasing more from England, England is purchasing more from us, and that is what we want. We want a market for our produce, and we find it in England. Thanks to our policy.

Now, Sir, what was his policy? What policy did the hon. gentleman carry out? In the first place, the hon. gentleman is entirely mistaken in supposing that those two things have any necessary relation to each other at all. The hon. gentleman knows that our purchases from England have been relatively insignificant for many long years, long before he had anything to do with formulating a policy. The hon. gentleman knows that our purchases from England have been infinitesimally smaller than our exports to England.

EFFECTS OF THE BRITISH PREFERENCE.

But that is not all, Sir. What is the result of this policy, this magnificent policy which the hon. gentleman claims has made Canada what it is to-day? Why, Sir, in 1897, the first year for which the hon. gentleman says he was responsible, England sent us \$500,000 less than she did before his policy was dreamed of. That does not look as if what England sent to us had any relation to the policy of the hon. gentleman. And while that was the case, there was an enormous, a gigantic increase in our exports to the mother country. Therefore, the hon. gentleman will see that the one statement has no relation to the other. The hon. gentleman is aware, I suppose, that his policy, while professedly a pro-British policy, was an anti-British policy; for under it, while England sent us in that year \$500,000 less than she had done before, the United States of America sent us \$19,000,000 more than they had done before. (Hear! Hear!) Was it because we had sent more to the United States? The hon. gentleman knows that it was the very reverse. I take the last six months, and what has this wonderful policy done—this policy that the hon. gentleman lives upon, and for which he attained an amount of kudos in Great Britain that we were all delighted to see him obtain if it had only been done on a sound basis? What was this wonderful boon that the right hon. gentleman said he conferred upon England? The Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain was asked in the House of Commons the other day by Sir Howard Vincent: “What is the increase of trade sent from England to Canada during the six months ending the 31st day of January?” Why did he say the 31st day of January? Simply because, as was admitted very frankly by the hon. Minister of Finance when at Sheffield, the treaties were not de-

nounced, and the policy did not come into operation until the 1st day of August ; so that the first six months of the policy ended on the 31st day of January. What was the answer ? What does the House suppose the increase amounts to, as the result of this magnificent policy that was going to secure for us the trade of England as a grateful response ? Why, Sir, it amounts to 1 per cent. for the six months. (Laughter.) Some papers have got the statement that it is 6 per cent., which is an entire delusion. Mr. Chamberlain said : If you include July, which you cannot include, because it is outside of the question altogether, and before the preferential rate came into operation, it would be 6 per cent., but for the first six months it was 1 per cent. And this is the policy on which the hon. gentleman prides himself.

IS THE TARIFF QUESTION A DEAD ISSUE.

But now, Sir, I intend to give an evidence from the Treasury benches with regard to this question upon whose policy the present great prosperity of this country depends. The hon. Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton), at Perth last month, had occasion to make a speech, and a very important speech it was. He said

The tariff was a question that was settled, and was now a dead issue.

No more talk in this House about a tariff ; we are done with that, he said. What more does he say ?

Because the Liberals had succeeded in solving this great question, and the tariff was one their opponents, if they got a chance, would not change much.

Why would they not change it ? Because it is their tariff, the hon. gentleman may say, and there is something in that. But suppose we had carried out our pledges, where would the prosperity have been ? I agree with him ; it would have been non-existent, and it was because they knew that they had either been deceiving and misleading the people of this country for eighteen long years, or having grown older, they had as may be charitably supposed, grown wiser, and had come to the conclusion that other people know something about these matters as well as themselves. (Applause.) Well, it appears that the Minister of the Interior has been taken severely to task by a number of people from Winnipeg who thought they were Free Traders. The Liberal party there had a meeting, at which they challenged this statement made by the hon. Minister of the Interior for the purpose of condemning it. The ground taken by the mover and seconder of the resolution condemning it was that if that were so, they had been grossly deluded—that if that were so they had been deceived by the hon. Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton), who had been one of the strongest supporters of a free trade policy, into

giving a support to a different policy altogether. A good many of the friends of the hon. Minister of the Interior said there must be some mistake. Although it appeared in the "Globe" and all the other Liberal newspapers, they said there must be some great mistake; it was impossible that a member of a free trade Government could have made such a statement, and they proposed to defer judgment until they had ascertained definitely whether the Minister could have made such a statement. Mr. Jas Porter, however,—I do not know who he is, but he is evidently a very intelligent man—said he believed that Mr. Sifton did make this statement, but did not condemn him for doing so because he thought the tariff was about as nearly perfect as it could be made. (Cheers and Laughter.) His opinion was—I commend this to the Minister of Finance—that the hon. Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding) saw he had made a mistake, and that Mr. Sifton was sent out to declare the real policy of the party and that the party should stand by his declaration. Now, I want to know how these two kings of Brentford stand—whether the hon. Minister of Finance, who declares that only the thin end of the wedge has been entered and that the Government are going to keep on reducing the tariff until some point is reached which he has not particularly indicated is to prevail, or the hon. Minister of the Interior, who declares that the present tariff is a finality. I go with the Minister of the Interior. I think that every man who has had an opportunity of studying this question will stand by the policy he has propounded, namely, that the tariff is settled and that that permanency of tariff, which my right hon. friend (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) discussed at Montreal a year or two ago and declared to be most essential to attain, has been accomplished. It will be found that my hon. friend the Minister of the Interior is right and that my hon. friend the Minister of Finance, having found he had made a mistake, sent his colleague to proclaim to the world that he was all wrong. But what does one of the hon. gentleman's supporters sitting behind him say on this subject? These hon. gentlemen who are new in the House may suppose that I am drawing upon my imagination, but they will find that I can produce the evidence of hon. gentlemen opposite to prove that the matter is as I have stated it.

THE LIBERAL TARIFF CHANGES.

What does the Winnipeg "Tribune" of March 9th of this year say upon this subject? It says:

There is something almost pathetic in the unconscious irony of Mr. Sifton's assertion that the present tariff is "one that their opponents, if they got the chance, would not change much." Certainly not. Why should the

"opponents" change the tariff if they got the chance? It is very largely the tariff which was in force when these "opponents" ceased to have the chance.

Thus speaks the hon. member for Lisgar (Mr. Richardson) :

Does the reduction of one cent per gallon on coal oil, the reduction of 12½ cents duty on binder twine, the removal of the duty from barbed wire, and a preference on British goods to the extent of one-fourth of the scheduled duties, constitute the difference between the Tory protective tariff and "free trade as it is in England"—the avowed fiscal goal of Sir Wilfrid Laurier?

I do not require to dilate more on this point to show that whatever has been the policy of the present Government with regard to this matter, they owe that policy to the Liberal-Conservative party, and it is by following out the policy of that party that they are able to boast, as they do, of the happy position Canada has attained. That policy, whether discussed by the Minister of the Interior or by the hon. member for Lisgar is one, I am satisfied, the maintenance of which the people of Canada will demand in all its integrity, so as to give to Canadian industries that advantage to which they are entitled.

But what have these changes in that policy which the editor of the "Tribune" pointed out done for Canada? What has the taking off the duty on binder twine done for us? It has closed down the binder twine industry and nearly doubled the cost. (Hear! Hear!) What has the reduction in duty on barbed wire done except to destroy the Canadian industry and substitute for it the American? What has the reduction of one cent per gallon on coal oil accomplished? It has led to the transfer of a great and important national industry of Canada into the hands of an American combine and trust that wants to render extinct everything in the shape of a coal oil industry in Canada. (Hear! Hear!)

I want to give to my right hon. friend (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), who no doubt is quite sincere in thinking that it is his policy that makes the sun rise in the east and set in the west, a little evidence that Canada was just emerging into the sunshine of renewed trade and vigour when he assumed office. It is an old saying that it is better to be lucky than rich, and certainly hon. gentlemen opposite may plume themselves on being exceptionally lucky. They came into power at a time when we were just passing out of a condition of depression into a condition of unwonted prosperity, and I shall give the evidence. I find in the report just published for the year 1898 by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company the statement :

A much larger amount of grain from the North-western crops remains to be removed than ever before at this time of the year, and this, together with

the most satisfactory agricultural and industrial conditions now prevailing in Canada, which are due in a great measure—

To the accession to office of the Liberal Government? Not at all.

—to good crops and good prices, and to successful mining, gives promise to a large spring and summer traffic.

A PERIOD OF WORLD-WIDE PROSPERITY.

If any person be so partisan as to be able to shut his eyes to the fact that we were not only just emerging from a condition of great depression into one of prosperity—that in Canada, in Europe, in England, Australasia and the United States, everywhere this was evident—but that we had besides the good fortune to have exceptionally good crops and instead of the farmer being compelled to take a poorer price for his produce the price was doubled, so that he was practically made rich and the whole country benefited. I give to him these facts, which we cannot suppose the people are ignorant of, nor the fact that the great mineral discoveries in Nova Scotia, Lake of the Woods district, British Columbia, Northwest Territories, Yukon—these enormous gold discoveries poured millions of capital into our country within the past two years. When I heard the eulogium pronounced by the mover of the Address upon British Columbia, my mind was carried back to the time when, standing on the other side of the House, as Minister of Railways, I was fighting to carry the contract for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway that would give us communication from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and I was opposed by a very able and distinguished gentleman, standing where I now stand—Mr. Blake—who demanded: What object is there in saddling this country with an enormous expense for the purpose of making a railway to British Columbia, which is only a sea of mountains? It was a sea of mountains; but it turns out that that sea of mountains, as the hon. mover of this motion has declared, bids fair not only to rival, but to surpass, many of the most important provinces in this Dominion by reason of the splendid mineral wealth which is now being developed there. (Applause.)

But, Sir, I give the right hon. gentleman another evidence, if anything more be wanted. In 1892, the gross earnings of the Canadian Pacific Railway were almost \$21,500,000, and in 1894 they had dropped to about \$18,750,000. Was that drop due to legislation or to any action of the Government? The right hon. gentleman knows that these things had nothing whatever to do with it. He knows that it was a question

of crops, a question of commercial depression in 1894, and that, whoever had been in power in that year, the result would have been the same. In 1895 the gross revenue of that road was \$18,941,036, and the net revenue about \$7,480,950. In 1896, before the right hon. gentleman's policy could have had any effect, the gross revenue rose to \$20,681,596, and the net revenue to \$8,107,581. In 1897, with the good crops and the greater mining development and the increased capital brought into the country, in fact, with the wave of prosperity that was passing over this country, as it passed over the neighbouring republic, the gross receipts went up to \$24,049,334, and the net revenue to about \$10,303,775. In 1898 there was a further increase to \$26,138,977 in the gross revenue, and \$10,475,371 net. I am sure the right hon. gentleman will not claim that he put all this money into the pockets of the shareholders of the Canadian Pacific Railway. If he does not, then I say to him that the statement he ventured to make—it was in an after-dinner speech, and, no doubt, some allowance must be made, particularly as the enthusiasm of his followers had, perhaps, carried him away a little—that this was due to his policy, is not well founded.

I turn to another evidence, which, I think, the right hon. gentleman will admit is conclusive on this point. Let me read from the report of Mr. Gage, the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States :

The foreign commerce of the fiscal year 1898 in many respects has been phenomenal. The exportation of the products of both field and factory exceeded in value those of any preceding year, and the grand total of exports was the largest ever recorded. For the first time in the history of our foreign commerce the year's exportation averaged more than \$100,000,000 a month, the total being \$1,231,482,330, against \$1,050,993,556 in 1897, and \$1,030,278,148 in 1892, no other year having reached the billion dollar line.



Was this due to the policy of the hon. gentleman? Is it to this Government that the United States owe this that they declare to be a phenomenal condition of progress and prosperity? No, Sir; it is due to those causes to which I have adverted: it is a question of crops—yes, and of prices. The crops may not have exceeded by so very much those of previous years, but when you come to send a hundred millions to Great Britain alone, as the United States did, and at double prices to the farmer that they have been able to obtain before, the hon. gentleman will see that the causes of the prosperity are entirely beyond anything that he has been able to do. But I am wrong, perhaps, in saying that

the hon. gentleman had nothing to do with this prosperity. They had, a little. They ran up the imports into Canada of the products of the United States some nineteen or twenty millions beyond what they had been before, and to that extent their policy may be fairly claimed to have contributed to the increase of the United States exports to which Secretary Gage refers.

Now, let me give my right hon. friend another evidence to show that this idea that it is in proportion to what you receive from a country that you send to that country, is an entire delusion. I have already shown that, while we were increasing by millions the exports of Canada's products to Great Britain, we were actually taking half a million dollars less from Great Britain than had been taken before. And what about the United States? Why, Sir, the United States took from the United Kingdom, in 1889. \$179,566,373 worth, and in 1898 only \$111,361,617, a decrease of \$68,204,758. Now, if there was anything in the hon. gentleman's theory, how could these figures arise? In 1889 the United States exported to the United Kingdom \$650,616,283 worth, and in 1898, having taken \$68,000,000 worth less from England than they did before, they exported \$981,134,110 to England, or an increase of \$331,517,827. That, I trust, will prevent my right hon. friend from on any occasion venturing again to claim that the question of how much the products of Canada may be sent to any country depends upon what is received from that country.

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION.

Now, Sir, I approach the subject that was so fully and so very ably dealt with by the hon. gentleman who moved the Address, and that is the Anglo-American rapprochement, as it was termed. The question is one of the greatest possible gravity, there can be no doubt about that; and I think I may venture to claim at the hands of hon. gentlemen opposite that I fully appreciated that gravity in the course I felt it my duty to take in regard to that matter. I felt that if there was anything in the shape of gratitude in the heart of man, it was simply impossible that the United States of America could fail to recognize the deep obligation under which they stood to Great Britain. (Hear! Hear!) When all the leading powers of Europe approached Great Britain at the time of the Spanish war with a proposal to intervene on the ground that there was no sufficient cause for war between the United States and Spain, no intelligent person in this or any other country requires to be told that if England had adopted that policy, if she had joined the other powers

of Europe in interfering between the United States and Spain, it was impossible that the arms of the former could have accomplished what they did, or that the results could have been what they were. There is no doubt that in the press and among public men in a great many quarters of the United States there was a warm and strong expression of gratitude for England's course in that matter. I confess that although I had had some reason to take a somewhat contrary view, from observations I had an opportunity of making, I was greatly impressed with the opportunity that was thus presented for a closer rapprochement between the members of the great English-speaking family. My right hon. friend will remember that I was obliged to treat a proposal of one of my friends behind me with a little discourtesy, advising him not to persist at this time in urging action on the part of this House that would be calculated to interfere in the slightest degree with what I looked upon as a very great and important movement.



An hon. MEMBER. And you were wrong.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. It really looks as though I had been. But as I say, I felt that there never had been such an opportunity for Canada to obtain a fair and just settlement of the various questions in dispute that existed between the United States of America and our own country; and so strongly impressed was I with that view, that when I came out from England and learned that a conference was about to take place between representatives of Great Britain, composed for the most part of members of the Canadian Government, along with another very able member of this House, I felt at once that I must alter the course I had proposed to take, of carrying on a somewhat active agitation in the province of Quebec. (Applause.) My hon. friend the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte), I know, regards with great contempt any effort in opposition to this Government that anybody can make in that province, which he assumes to be entirely his own special charge and care. But I must say that I do not place so low an estimate upon the intelligence of the people of that great province as to doubt that if they were prop-

erly informed of the position that this Government occupies in regard to many questions vitally affecting that province, at all events, the relative proportion of hon. gentlemen sitting on the two sides of this House might be very materially changed. That is my opinion, and in that view of the case I had promised to carry on a somewhat active agitation in that province during the past summer. But when I learned that this conference was about to assemble, I felt that I must reconsider the position, and whether hon. gentlemen opposite may attach any importance to it or not, I acted under a sense of what I believed to be a public duty in deciding that while that commission was sitting I must refrain from dealing, at all events, with questions which were under its consideration, and which I felt were more likely to be prejudiced than otherwise by such a public discussion of the position of the Government as otherwise I would have been called upon to undertake. Well, Sir, I met with some little opposition. Some of my friends said : But suppose they accomplish something, they may go to the country, and they may carry the country without our having an opportunity of putting our views before it at all.

COUNTRY BEFORE PARTY.

Well, I answered, I want you to understand that so long as I am entrusted with the responsibility of the leadership of the Liberal-Conservative party, my policy will be the traditional policy that has always governed the actions of that great party, namely, to put the country before party. I said that if I were quite sure the conference would result in accomplishing some great good for Canada, I should be quite willing to continue to sit on the Opposition benches, if that was necessary, in order that Canada might enjoy that advantage. (Cheers.) But we have now reached the point where we have to look at this matter from a different standpoint. I feel that everything that we could possibly do has been done by hon. gentlemen opposite, led by that great and distinguished nobleman whose death we all so sincerely deplore. I may say here that in my judgment Her Majesty's Government could have made no happier appointment to the position of leader of the British delegation than that of the late lamented Lord Herschell. (Hear ! Hear !). I have had the pleasure of a long and somewhat intimate acquaintance with that right hon. gentleman. We are both members of the Royal Commission appointed by the Queen for the purpose of organizing the Imperial Institute, and after the Imperial Institute was organized, Lord Herschell discharged the very important duties of chairman of the executive council, of which I was a member ; so that during a number of years I had

an opportunity of seeing a great deal of that distinguished man. I need not say to this House that he was not only one of the ablest lawyers, but one of the most able peers that sat in the House of Lords in England; and his appointment by a Government to which he was opposed was the best evidence of how far the British Government are disposed to go in considering the fitness of persons for the discharge of the particular duties which devolve upon them. I felt that it was a great advantage to Canada to have on the commission a gentleman so distinguished as Lord Herschell; and I may say that during my acquaintance with him, and in the opportunities I had of seeing him preside over large bodies of men, nothing struck me more forcibly than the wonderful tact that he always displayed in discharging those duties. I may add that on several occasions it became my duty to approach His Lordship in his position as Lord Chancellor, in regard to several matters, notably two important matters, one connected with the representation of Canada on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and another relating to the admission of colonial government securities for investment in trust funds; and on every occasion I found Lord Herschell not only extremely able and extremely courteous, but disposed to do everything he possibly could to promote the interests of the colonies. I feel it right that, under these circumstances, I should utter my humble tribute to the memory of that great man, and express my deep regret and appreciation of the loss which both the Empire and Canada have sustained by his untimely death.

Now, Sir, the mover of the Address has told us that for six months we have waited patiently for the result of the International Commission, but I am afraid I will have to qualify that word, for I believe that I am expressing the opinion of gentlemen on both sides of the House, as well as the sentiments of the overwhelming majority of the people of Canada when I say, that we have waited the result of that conference with deep impatience. So far as we can judge, from the statement in the press, which is the only means of communication on the matter open to us, for six long months the people of Canada have been placed in the most unfortunate position of being humble suppliants at the feet of the people of the United States, our representatives requesting as a favour that which we ought to demand as a right. And, Sir, demanding our right, we had the right to receive a prompt and considerate answer from the United States. I do not believe, Sir, that the interests of Great Britain and of the United States are ever likely to resume their former conditions; not, that having experience of the past six months we have anything to hope for or anything to expect in the nature of frank and gen-

enous treatment from the United States, but I believe that now that the people of the United States have made such a new departure in their system of government, that the interests of Great Britain and of the United States will very often run on parallel lines, and will draw those two countries together in a manner that probably no other circumstance could have done. But I must say, so far as I am concerned, that notwithstanding the course which Great Britain has pursued in a most eventful period of the career of that great republic, I entirely despair of their being influenced by that to give any more favourable consideration to the people of Canada than they have given in the past. (Applause).

It being six o'clock, the Speaker left the Chair.

AFTER RECESS.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Mr. Speaker, I regret the absence of the Prime Minister.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS (Mr. Tarte). The Prime Minister will be here in a moment, I have sent for him.

THE FAILURE OF THE GOVERNMENT'S NEGOTIATIONS.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I regret his absence, because I have now reached a part of my remarks that make it very desirable that he should be present. I have referred to the failure of the negotiations and the fact that at the end of six months waiting impatiently for the result, we learned that an adjournment of the commission had taken place until the 2nd day of August next. I cannot but express my deep regret that there should have been such an adjournment. I think it was due to Canada, and I think it was due to the great interests with which the representatives of Canada on that occasion were charged by Her Majesty, that they should have declined to make any adjournment. Of course we are bound to accept the official statement made by the head of the commission representing the United States, and by the Prime Minister of Canada for Lord Herschell who was unfortunately prevented by illness from being present; but when the reasons were disclosed, when the position was stated to the country, as it was officially stated in that state

paper authorized by Mr. Fairbanks on the one side and Sir Wilfrid Laurier on the other, I could not but feel that a serious mistake had been made on the part of the representatives of the Crown. In view of the fact that the United States of America adopted a course which the hon. the mover of the Address has to-day on the floor of Parliament, as the mouthpiece of the Executive of this country, stated, was a dishonourable course, a course not justified by the comity of nations ; it is my opinion that the interests of Canada required, not that there should be an adjournment until the 2nd day of August, but that there should be a suspension of these negotiations. I regret that y such course became necessary, but when a great country like the United States of America took a position which demands from the mover of the Address the terms "dishonourable conduct", I cannot but say, that I regret very much that there should have been any question of an adjournment. I do not myself believe that there is any intention on the part of the representatives of Her Majesty ; I do not believe that there is any intention to meet on the 2nd day of August. I do not believe that there is any expectation on the part of these hon. gentlemen that they will meet on the 2nd day of August next. (Hear ! Hear !) Why should they? The statement is made—I do not know on what authority—by the hon. member for East Prince (Mr. Bell), that an arrangement was all but reached in regard to a number of questions touching the interests of Canada, but that the representatives of Canada took the ground that there should be no arrangement made of any kind on any of these questions unless they were all arranged. I do not hesitate to express the opinion that if the representatives of Canada took such a ground, it was most unfortunate. I do not see why it was necessary to take the position that every question must be settled. Suppose that a few questions interesting to Canada could be disposed of as was intimated, why should they not be disposed of without reference to any question on which it was not possible to come to a conclusion ?

THE ALASKAN BOUNDARY.

Now, Sir, my right hon. friend the leader of the Government will correct me, if I am wrong in saying that I understand the terms of that adjournment to be, that the commission will meet on the second day of August, provided that in the meantime, by diplomatic intercourse, the Governments of Great Britain and of the United States solve this question of the boundary of Alaska. I assume, from the terms in which the statement is made, that the adjournment is for the very purpose of enabling the respective governments to deal diplomatically with that

subject ; and I assume that it is not the intention to meet, if that question remains in the position that the United States practically say : Gentlemen, we do not intend to settle this question—for they might just as well say so in so many words, as to use the terms that they have used. What do they say ? They say : We will not have any arbitration at all on the question of the boundary of Alaska, unless you agree, before we go into that question that, provided the arbitrators decide that we are in possession of Canadian territory, we shall not be required to give it up, but continue to hold it. That is point the first. Point the second is : We do not intend that there shall be any settlement of this Alaskan boundary question at all. Why, Sir, no person ever made so monstrous a proposition as that there should be an equal number on each side, and no umpire, to decide a question of that kind. The question of an international boundary is a question that is perfectly understood in the comity of nations. It is a question that depends on the construction of the treaty under which that boundary is fixed ; and when two governments are unable to agree as to the significance of the terms of that treaty in such a way as to settle the boundary, then, according to all practice, such a question should be solved by a reference to an international tribunal, by calling in experts and by calling in an umpire of an international character to decide what shall be done. Why, Sir, what was done in the case of the north-western boundary of the United States ? Suppose that England, instead of doing what every nation does under such circumstances, had said : We will not have any arbitration ; we will not refer to any third party or to any international tribunal the question as to whether the Island of San Juan is in British or in American territory ; it is in our possession to-day ; we are occupying it, as we have done for many years, and we require, before going into any arbitration, that if the tribunal decides that that island is in United States territory, we shall not be obliged to abandon it, but will continue to hold it. Every person knows that so monstrous a proposition would have been rejected with scorn by the United States of America. That question was referred to an international tribunal, and that tribunal decided that the Island of San Juan was in American territory ; and although England was in possession of that island, then, and had been for many years, it was handed over to the United States, and the channel on the Canadian side of the island was made the boundary line. Now, Sir, if the statement be true that has been given to us to-day by the mover of the Address—and we have no reason to doubt its truth—that the representatives of the Government of Canada determined that there should be no settlement of any question without that boundary question being settled,

what position will you be in on the second day of August to meet at Quebec, unless in the meantime that question is settled by a diplomatic arrangement between the two countries? I hold, therefore, that in the interests of Canada, and upon every principle of international law by which such questions are governed, it was the duty of the representatives of the Crown to take the stand there and then that there would be no further negotiations upon those questions, if that question was not disposed of before the tribunal met; and I assume that will be the case. (Cheers). Now, Sir, what has been done? We have had six months' long negotiations, we have had the American press and the Canadian press teeming with what was being done, first at Quebec, and subsequently at Washington. Where are we now? Why, Sir, everybody knows that there became a burning desire on the part of the people of Canada that those negotiations should be brought to a termination, and that the representatives of Canada should return to their own country; that if it was found impossible to induce the United States to agree to a fair and just solution of these various questions, the matter should be terminated, and Canada should be left in a position to take such measures as, I do not hesitate to say, are absolutely essential to command that respect on the part of that great republic that lies at the very foundation of securing any just consideration for any Canadian question. We have tried the sunny ways, we have tried the pleasant means of accomplishing these objects, too long, and we have tried them with such a thoroughly bootless result that the patience of the people of Canada is exhausted, and they say: Let us now—not retaliate; no person talks of retaliation. No person raises the question of retaliation for a single moment; but we say the time has come when it is absolutely due to Canadian interests that the world should know that we are not in the humiliating and dependent position of being obliged to crave as suppliants at the feet of the United States of America any consideration whatever. (Loud Cheers). We say that Canada has attained that position, and she enjoys that position to-day. Consider her attitude in whatever light and from whatever standpoint you may, we say that Canada occupies a position in which she asks no favour from the United States of America or from any other foreign country. Canada is so magnificently endowed by nature with such rich and inexhaustible resources of every kind and character as to make it unnecessary for her; and if it was necessary, no policy is more fatal to attain the object in view than to present ourselves in the position of suppliants. Now, Sir, those deliberations, in my judgment, should have been closed the moment the United States took so unreasonable a position as they did, according to the official report given out by the Hon.

Senator Fairbanks and the Prime Minister of Canada, acting as the head of the commission. I say, the moment that point was reached, those negotiations should have been closed, and the representatives of Canada should have returned to their seats in this House of Commons of our country, in a position to take up those questions and deal with them, not in a spirit of retaliation, but in a spirit of adopting just such legislation as the interests of Canada demanded at their hands.

WHY THE NEGOTIATIONS FAILED.

A great deal of difficulty that has grown out of this question has been the disastrous result of the policy pursued by the right hon. gentleman who leads this Government. I must say, and I say it with regret, that in my judgment, from the hour the Government was formed in 1896 until they went down to this international conference or meeting in Quebec two years later, if their sole object had been to render it impossible for Canada to obtain any fair and just and reasonable arrangements with the United States, they left nothing undone, during these two long years, that could ensure the accomplishment of that result.



(Hear! Hear!) That is a very strong statement, but I will show the House, as briefly as I can, the ground on which I base it. What was their first step? The first unfortunate step taken by the right hon. First Minister was the last which any man acquainted with diplomacy, or who had any knowledge of the subject or diplomatic arrangements, would have taken. That step was to unbosom himself to a Chicago reporter. In that interview he took the last ground which any man charged with the duty of leading the Government of Canada ought to take. He said that he and his associates were the only men in Canada who were friendly to the United States of America, the only men from whom the United States could expect to receive such treatment as would be satisfactory to them. Was that calculated to strengthen the hands of the right hon. gentleman? Just the reverse. His statement was not true. I do not intend for a moment to say that the hon. gentleman wilfully misstated the facts, but

that his recollection entirely failed him. His recollection of the history of Canada, his knowledge of the Conservative party in Canada, entirely failed him when he made the untrue statement to a Chicago reporter that the Liberal-Conservative party in Canada was hostile to the United States of America.

Mr. SPEAKER. I think it is going rather too far to state that any hon. member of this House has made an untrue statement. There are a great many other ways by which the hon. gentleman can express his appreciation of what the right hon. gentleman said.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I do not intend for a single moment to insinuate that the right hon. Prime Minister made a deliberately false statement. I draw the distinction between that and an untrue statement. Any statement is untrue which is contradicted by the facts. I have made a great many statements to-night which hon. gentlemen opposite will challenge as untrue because they differ from me on questions of fact. But I do not at all wish to be implied that I am charging the right hon. gentleman with deliberately misstating any facts. I want that to be clearly understood. I would not use the word if I thought it were of a personally offensive character, but I am bound to say that, whether untrue or not, the statement of the right hon. gentleman is disproved by the whole history of Canada from the first hour of confederation down to the present. There never was a party in this House or country that recognized more than did the Liberal-Conservative party the great importance of having the most friendly relations, both socially and commercially, with the United States of America. (Cheers). I hold that as a cardinal principle, and I say that the Conservative party have acted upon that principle from the first hour of confederation down to the present, and shall prove directly, out of my right hon. friend's own mouth, that he was mistaken in bringing that charge against us.

SIR JOHN MACDONALD'S TREATY.

What are the facts ? Everyone remembers that in 1871, the Right Hon. Sir John Macdonald was sent to Washington, as a joint High Commissioner, to negotiate a treaty between Great Britain and the United States. What happened ? He did negotiate a treaty. There is not a gentleman on the other side who will contradict me when I say that there never was so critical an hour in the relations between Great

Britain and the United States. Everyone knows that the seizures made by the "Alabama" during the civil war in the United States excited the most intensely bitter feelings on the part of the United States towards Great Britain—a feeling not confined to one, but shared by all parties. At that critical hour, the Right Hon. Sir John Macdonald was sent down to Washington, as one of a High Commission, to negotiate a treaty for the settlement of that "Alabama" question and certain other questions that were in controversy between the United States and Canada at that time. Well, Mr. Speaker, a treaty was negotiated and signed, and its adoption was moved on the floor of this House. I shall have occasion directly to draw the attention of the House to the attitude taken by the Conservatives on the one side and the Liberals on the other, as to what should be done with regard to that important treaty, but first let me refer to the remarks made by the right hon. First Minister to the Chicago reporter. He said :

The Liberal Government, which has just taken office, desires and intends to signalize its administration by a renewal—

A renewal, mark you, Mr. Speaker—

—of the neighbourly relations with our friends across the border. As you have suggested, the relations between Canada and the United States have not been as cordial for some time past as I hope they will be in the future. Some years ago, when considerable friction had been created by the North Atlantic fishery troubles, I took an opportunity to say that the question should be adjusted in a friendly manner, becoming an enlightened and friendly people, by the simple process of give and take, and I do not see now why an arrangement should not be made resembling that effected by the Treaty of Washington in 1871 and the treaty of 1854, whereby not only the ports but the inshore waters of both countries were thrown open to the fishermen of both on equal terms, and the markets for the fish of the two countries made equally free.

I may just in passing refer to that unfortunate mistake of my right hon. friend in supposing that the treaty of 1871 contained any such provision. It was not a question of give and take. It was not a question of free markets for fish in return for free fishing, but a question of the fisheries of the two countries being mutually enjoyed by the fishermen of both and of an international tribunal ascertaining how much should be paid by the one country to the other—which entirely changed the whole complexion of that arrangement. That international tribunal met at Halifax, and by its award the United States were compelled to pay \$5,500,000 to Canada and Newfoundland for the use of their fish-

eries, over and above the value of their own, and the admission of our fish free during twelve years, or something like \$500,000 a year. Therefore the position taken by my hon. friend was entirely a mistaken one, and one that, I do not hesitate to say, met him at the threshold of this commission. When he had ascertained the true position and was asked by the United States : Do you adhere to your proposal which you stated to a Chicago reporter you were prepared to make, namely, a proposal of give and take, and give up your inshore fisheries in return for free admission of fish in the markets of the United States, my right hon. friend was obliged to say no. You had to pay \$5,500,000 for the use of our fisheries, over and above the advantage of the free import of our fish into your country, and I cannot agree to anything of the kind — and that closed that question. And I am as satisfied that that took place as if I had heard the conversation between the right hon. gentleman and his colleagues. Well, Sir, that treaty was submitted, and I now come to the evidence upon which I stated, that while the great Liberal-Conservative party have always been in favour of the most friendly, cordial, social and commercial relations with the United States, and have proved it again and again, hon. gentlemen opposite are the men who, on the floor of this House, denounced in unmeasured terms efforts that were calculated to bring about that harmonious settlement of the questions at issue. The Hon. Mr. Mackenzie, then the leader of the Opposition, in 1872, when the treaty was considered, said :

We believed, however, that there was a limit beyond which we ought not to go. He did not believe that national health, national glory and national pride were always to be purchased by making sacrifices to what is justly called the peace-at-any-price party. It was manifest that if we on this continent, hemmed in as we are by the people of the United States, whose political policy had been singularly aggressive——

That was the language, Sir, of these gentlemen, who are so devoted in their friendship to the United States.

——yielded up to so-called peace every advantage we possessed within our territory, it would soon become a question of how far it would be possible to pursue that policy and retain any trace of national life and public spirit.

ALEXANDER MACKENZIES' ATTITUDE.

I wish that the late Hon. Alexander Mackenzie was on the floor of this Parliament to-day to stand up and maintain, in the face of hon. gentlemen opposite the position he took on that occasion. For, although the treaty was one which should have received the approval of this House, there is not a word in that quotation that does not come home

to every gentleman in this House as one that a self-respecting people would be expected to support. Mr. Mackenzie again said :

He felt that on no consideration ought we to yield our honour at the shrine of mammon, that on no consideration ought we to have bartered away our heritage for this questionable equivalent of money.

I would like to ask the right hon. gentleman if he has not been engaged in these negotiations, the close consideration of what amount of money should be paid by the United States for bartering away one of the most sacred rights of British subjects ? Enough has leaked out to let us know that it was a question whether one of our most important national assets, and one of the dearest rights a British subject can enjoy, the right of going about on the high seas, following a legitimate calling, should not be bartered away for money—putting a price, as the hon. Mr. Mackenzie said, upon one of the dearest rights of the people of this country. Now, I wish to call attention to what the Hon. Mr. Blake said :

As to their being now a critical state of relations between the two countries, there would be the same then—the same hectoring, the same blustering, and bragging, if only for the purpose of retaining the fishing privileges.

I wonder if my right hon. friend and his associates have not been enduring of late a good deal of that hectoring, of that blustering and bragging which Mr. Blake describes here as the mode in which the statesmen of that great republic are apt to press their claims. Mr. Young, who was then a leading member of this House, and a member of the Opposition, representing an Ontario constituency, said :



The whole thing was a shameful sacrifice of Canada's interest, and this was generally admitted, and the member for West Durham had fully proved it. This was no reason why the treaty should be ratified. He had seldom heard more paltry reasons than those urged by the Government in pressing the acceptance of the treaty. Where would these sacrifices end ? They would never end so far as the United States were concerned and as long as Canada was on the map.

These are the sentiments of that party who have boasted again and again, and have dinned into the ears of the Americans until some of them have been foolish enough to believe it, that the Liberal party were alone willing to make a fair and friendly settlement of the questions between the two countries. I say that this is not, in my judgment, the way to succeed in a diplomatic struggle, such as the hon. gentleman has been engaged in. Mr. Mills, the present Minister of Justice, said :

We should feel entirely satisfied that, before the treaty was ratified, we

did not make a mistake, and that by one fell swoop we should not destroy the hopes and blast the prospects of this country.

And, holding up the treaty in his hand, he said :

Here was the hole through which America would get possession of this country.

Mr. FOSTER. Is that our Mills ?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. OUR Mills—the present Minister of Justice. And this was how he spoke of the Treaty of Washington of 1871,



and there is not a man in Canada to-day but would hold up both hands to have it enacted or to have had it remain in perpetuity as a settlement of the questions between the United States and Canada. That measure was received by the Liberal party with denunciation, though they now arrogate to themselves the credit for bringing about a renewal of friendly relations. When was there a rupture, with the Conservative party in power, of the friendly relation between the

United States and Canada? Mr. Mills continued :

He had not much confidence, judging by several previous treaties, in the ability of British statesmen, and the Oregon territory dispute would prevent him placing much reliance in the moderation and justice of American statesmen.

So much for the evidence I give as to the statement made by the right hon. gentleman, that it was necessary to bring the Liberal party into power in order to get fair and reasonable arrangements made with this country. Does the right hon. gentleman think I have not answered completely his statement and shown that, if there has been a strong attitude of hostility ever taken on the floor of Parliament toward the United States, it was taken when the Conservative Government were making a fair, friendly and excellent arrangement with the United States, and that arrangement was being denounced as a base surrender of the rights and interests of the people of Canada ?

Well, Sir, what happened then ? Why, Sir, we have the right hon. gentleman himself, notwithstanding all these fierce denunciations of the United States by his Liberal friends, by the leaders whom he followed, no sooner clothed with power than he rushes into the arms of a Chicago reporter, and unbosoms himself of the statement, that what he wants to do to prove his affection to the United States is to adopt this very treaty that had been denounced in unmeasured terms by his friends and colleagues. But I will give the hon. gentleman's own words to prove what he said. I won't say, after the gentle hint that the Speaker has been good enough to give me, that it was untrue, but perhaps he will allow me to say it was inaccurate—I will prove from the mouth of the right hon. gentleman himself that his statement was inaccurate. On July 1st, 1897, at a dinner given in London, the right hon. gentleman says :

I am sorry to say that there are still too many causes of friction remaining between Great Britain and the United States. When I say that the people and the Government of England were not blameless—

He was referring to the civil war, and on that I altogether differ with him.

—yet for all the troubles

Mark this. This is the language of the same gentleman who says now that the Liberal party are the only party to whom the United States can look for fair and friendly arrangements. He says :

—yet for all the troubles which have arisen since the Civil War, the blame, in my estimation, rests not with England, but with the United States.

There I am giving the very best evidence of the inaccuracy of the statement made by the right hon. gentleman. But there is another question I am asked by the organ of the Liberal party if there are not two Tuppens. They are good enough to remind me of the statements which I made in this House when I was asking this House to accept the treaty of 1888, negotiated at Washington. Now, what was that treaty ? That was not a treaty in which we were at the feet of the United States asking for arrangements.

THE FISHERY DIFFICULTY.

That treaty grew out of a proposal made by Mr. Bayard, then Secretary of State for the United States, to myself, proposing that we should meet and discuss the question as to whether the Atlantic fisheries diffi-

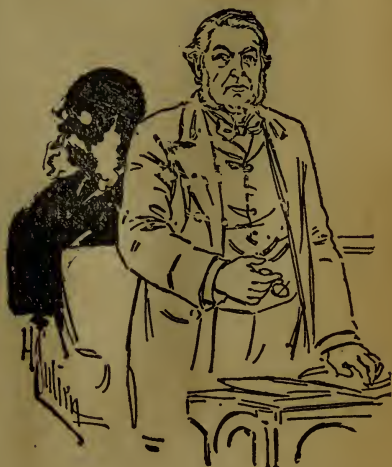
culty could not be disposed of. At that time, as the House knows, the relations between the United States of America and of Canada were in as serious and unpleasant a position as it was possible to imagine. Congress had passed a unanimous resolution, and the President had ratified it, authorizing a declaration of non-intercourse with Canada ; and there was not a paper on the Republican or the Democratic side of politics in the whole of the United States, so far as I am aware, that was not denouncing Canada from day to day for the most inhuman and unfriendly treatment of the fishermen of the United States. There was, however, no foundation for those denunciations, because the Government of the United States had itself abrogated the treaty of 1871, and we were then thrown back upon the treaty of 1818, which was then brought into operation, and which had been suspended by the later treaty. In justice to Canadian rights we were compelled to seize their fishermen if they came into our waters and trespassed upon our fishing grounds. Well, at that time, as I say, the relations between the two countries were of the most unpleasant character, and Her Majesty's Government appointed three plenipotentiaries, of whom I had the honour to be one. The Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain was the leader of Her Majesty's representatives. We went to Washington, and after some two months of negotiations we succeeded in making a treaty, a treaty so favourable that the Parliament of Canada—although at the first blush hon. gentlemen opposite denounced it as very wrong and improper, as they always do anything that comes from the Conservative party—the House of Commons unanimously adopted it. That treaty was sent down by Mr. Cleveland to the Senate of the United States, with the declaration that it was a fair, honourable and just settlement of the whole question, and he urged the Senate to adopt it. That treaty may be studied by any hon. gentleman in this House, and he will find that every single contention on the part of Canada as to our rights under the treaty of 1818, is conceded in it ; and I will give better evidence, directly, than that as to its value. As we had great reason to doubt whether it would receive a two-thirds vote of the Senate, we followed that up by a *modus vivendi*, to go into operation pending the ratification of the treaty, or until by proclamation it was cancelled. That *modus vivendi* is in operation to-day ; that *modus vivendi* is one that both President Cleveland had sanctioned, and that Mr. Harrison, who succeeded him as the Republican President, also declared in his inaugural address had caused all the friction to cease between the two nations. I did not hesitate to urge the adoption of that treaty upon the House of Com-

mons, and was fortunate enough to obtain the unanimous sanction of this House to that treaty. But I say more. I put it to my right hon. friend again—he will perhaps say he is not in a position to answer me—but I say that I believe that he offered substantially the re-enactment of that treaty to the United States of America on the present occasion as a settlement of the Atlantic fisheries question. I have reasons for making this statement, because, as hon. gentlemen are aware, despite all efforts to maintain secrecy, a great deal will leak out, and it is impossible to prevent the press and certain parties from getting a good deal of this information.

Now, I come to the next step taken. My right hon. friend sent down to Washington the Minister of Marine and Fisheries and the Minister of Trade and Commerce, to see if they could induce the United States to consider a reciprocal trade arrangement. Well, how did they come back ? They came back with the Dingley tariff, largely increasing the duties upon lumber, after the late Government had gone out of office, and with a more stringent alien labour law than existed before. I am not surprised that these gentlemen came back intensely disgusted with the reception they met with. Then, what was the next step in this drama ? We then had the Minister of Finance coming to the front, and with a great shout of loyalty that was to echo and re-echo throughout the whole British Empire, he declared to this House, and to the people of Canada, that the Government of Canada had made up their minds, as the United States had given them the cold shoulder, and were not disposed to entertain any of their proposals—they had made up their minds to adopt the policy of giving a preference to British trade in their tariff. I won't go into all the history of that tariff, because it is too well known to require repetition. But we all know the very unfortunate blunders that the Minister of Finance and all his colleagues fell into on that occasion. Now, Sir, one of the very first elements of success in diplomacy is that the men who are negotiating with you should have some respect for you, that the people with whom you are called upon to negotiate these matters should believe that you know something of the subjects upon which you are talking.

THE LOYALTY CRY.

Well, when they found that the Minister of Finance and the Prime Minister of Canada owed—and I explained before dinner that these gentlemen owed the National Policy to us, owed all the prosperity and progress that has taken place in Canada under their regime, to us who preceded them, more than that, I say they owed this loyalty cry to us. Where would they have been if they could have carried out their policy of 1891? Would they have been in a position to pose as men determined to build up the British Empire if the Liberal-Conservative party of Canada had not been able to beat down their disloyal—I do not say intentionally disloyal—but I say their disloyal effort to break down British institutions in this country? (Hear! Hear!) What was that policy which the Liberal-Conservatives of Canada defeated at the polls? It was to adopt the tariff of the United States for Canada against the rest of the world, Britain included; it was that Canada should turn her back on England, and discriminate against Great Britain. And when the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright) was asked: Suppose this involves discrimination against England, his answer was: We cannot help that, we are determined to have unrestricted reciprocity and free trade on this continent of North America, let England say or do what she likes. Sir, I stand here tonight to say that this loyalty cry of the Liberals which has stood them in good stead, and which has covered their breasts with decorations, was only available to them because we defeated their attempt to undermine British institutions on this continent. (Cheers). Have we not good evidence on this point? Look at the London "Times," the day after the general election of 1891, in which the Hon. Edward Blake puts on record for all time the declaration: That he had to leave their ranks because he would not fight under false colours, and because their policy



was one that would lead to the commercial subjugation of Canada to the United States, which would involve ultimately the loss of British institutions. (Applause).

When this tariff of the Liberal Government was brought down, the right hon. the Prime Minister was told from this side of the House, that it would not accomplish what he aimed at, that there were two treaties in the way fatal to his policy, and that there were several countries that under his resolution were entitled to the privilege given ; when he was told that, he held up his right hand and I can see him standing there in all the majesty of his position and power declaring to this House and to the world that he and his Government had studied this whole question and they had come to the conclusion that there was only one country in the world that could enjoy the advantages which the resolution offered. I need not detain the House longer than to say that he and his Government soon found they were wrong in that from top to bottom and that they had been trying their prentice hand upon a subject which they did not understand. At last, down in Sheffield, at the great annual dinner there, the Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding) had the manliness to say, and I give him credit for it , We have no preferential tariff, but we intend to have one next year. The Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright) maintained that this first resolution of 1896 was open to all the world, and to a large extent he was right, but what about the resolution of 1897 ? Why, this Government that claim to be the friends of the United States of America, and to consider above and beyond all the importance of meeting the wishes of that country, this Government absolutely put upon the Statute-book a discrimination in favour of Great Britain of 25 per cent.

A SHAM PREFERENCE.

Well, it was a sham preference. The Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding) with that wonderful ingenuity of his—I do not like to call it by a harsher term—managed, before he took off the 12½ per cent to put that or a little more on, so that when he gave his 25 per cent reduction it was more like 12½ than 25, as he himself knows. I have shown already that this was comparatively worthless to England. It has no doubt embarrassed a few industries in this country, but so far as the trade of Great Britain is concerned, at the end of six months under this professed discrimination in favour of England, the trade returns show that Great Britain sent absolutely one per cent more of their products to Canada under this magnificent boon which was supposed to have been con-

ferred upon them, than they sent before. I cannot imagine gentlemen who had any idea of approaching the United States of America for a reciprocity treaty, stultifying themselves more completely than they did in this matter, even if they had been offered a premium for doing so. (Hear ! Hear !) What they did in this respect was bad enough in all conscience, but they did worse. While filling the country with this great shout of loyalty to the mother land (to whom we owe so much and were so anxious to pay a portion of our debt) they turned round and gave to the United States of America everything they had to give and without any quid pro quo whatever. We on this side of the House told them in 1897 : Your tariff is a delusion ; you are pretending to make a British tariff while you are making a pro-American tariff, and, Sir, the result has been that at the end of the first year of this tariff, there were \$500,000 less imports into Canada from England, but \$20,000,000 more imports to Canada from the United States. What did the ablest man—I do not hesitate to say it although he is not in the House—that represented Canada on this Commission, Mr. John Charlton, the hon. member for North Norfolk—what did he say ? Did any person ever hear before of a body of gentlemen engaged in an important diplomatic negotiation, sending one of their friends out on the stump in Washington and in Chicago, to lecture the people of the United States of America in reference to the subjects that were under consideration of the conference. It may be a new mode of diplomacy, but it is not likely to be a successful one. When they proposed in this House to make corn free, did not the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) tell them ; If you contemplate any negotiations with the United States of America, you had better reserve something so as to give you a basis for negotiating. But the policy that prevailed on that occasion and that overrode the Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding) and the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) was the policy of the right hon. gentleman who leads the House, who, when formulating that magnificent policy that was to startle the whole of British North America when it came to light, said (“Hansard,” 1893) :

The great trouble we have always had in our dealings with the American Republic has been simply this, that the Canadian Government has never been generous in their treatment of American citizens and the American Republic. If we have favours to give, if we have concessions to make, we should give them and make them gracefully.

Well, Sir, he has tried that, and where does he find himself ? He lowered the duties on iron, on wheat and on flour ; he made corn free, and he increased the products sent from the United States into Canada by

over \$20,000,000 per annum. That was carrying out his mode, and what did he get by it ? Why, Sir, when he went down to negotiate these trade arrangements at Quebec, his hands were empty. He had given away everything he could give, and he got nothing for it. He has not got thanks or recognition or anything that is valuable to a public man ; and he has only succeeded in bringing his country into contempt. (Hear ! Hear !) I say it advisedly : I say, the feeling throughout the whole of this country is that the position of Canada would be infinitely higher, stronger and better to-day, if that commission had never been heard of. We have been suing and imploring on the platform and in the closet and everywhere ; we have been begging favors from the United States of America, when there is not a country on the face of the globe that is in a better position than this Dominion of Canada to present a bold front and to say that we are in a position of independence that will enable us to deal fairly and justly between man and man, but that we ask no favor and no affection from any person whatever. Well, Sir, my hon. friend the Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis Davies), no doubt, was confronted with this little statement when he went down to engage in these negotiations. The hon. gentleman visited London in 1897, on which occasion he delivered himself of an address before a section of the London Chamber of Commerce; and what did he say? He said:—

In 1895, the last year he had access to the tables, Great Britain took \$60,000,000 of Canada's products, while the United States took only \$40,000,000; Canada took from the United States \$60,000,000 of her products, and only \$30,000,000 from the mother country. When the Liberal party came into power in Canada, they thought something should be done to reverse that state of affairs. If it had been brought about by natural causes, those causes might well have been left to work out their own result ; but when they saw that it had been produced by artificial means, they determined that all the obstacles in the way of the development of trade between Canada and the mother country should be removed.



Now, Sir, what did the hon. gentleman mean by that statement? He meant this—and it means nothing else—that the Conservative party in this country had been discriminating against the mother country and by unnatural means forcing the trade into United States channels. That is what it meant, and it meant nothing else. And now, Sir, we have the declaration, that, when this hon. gentleman went to negotiate a reciprocal trade arrangement with the United States, they said: We

thought you were altogether opposed to having any trade with the United States. Are you the same gentleman who held up to execration the late Government for having by unnatural means increased the trade of Canada with this country? If these are your views, what do you mean now? Do you mean to say that you do not intend to carry out the solemn pledge you gave on the platform in the City of London to the English people and the English merchants, that you and your Government intended to change all that, and to see that Canada would not take more from the United States than from England, and give less? Now, Sir, what is the result? Why, Sir, instead of the hon. gentleman having accomplished that by this sham preference given to England, but a real preference to the United States, he brought about that discrimination in favor of the United States and against England that he had denounced, and here it is. In 1895, the imports from the United States were \$54,634,000; in 1898, under the policy of my hon. friend, the imports rose to no less than \$78,000,000, or \$23,366,000 more than had been brought from the United States under the tariff that he denounced, and that he pledged himself to the English people to remedy. What would such astute men as Senator Fairbanks and the late Mr. Dingley—whose death we very much deplore—think when they were asked to negotiate a reciprocity treaty with gentlemen who had shown, either that they did not know what they were talking about, that they did not understand the subject with which they were undertaking to deal, or that they were most unfriendly towards the United States of America and determined to have as little to do with them as possible? While our imports from the United States exceeded our imports from Great Britain by \$20,000,000 in 1895, our imports from the United States exceeded our imports from Great Britain by \$46,000,000 in 1898. The free list given to the United States by the tariff of the hon. gentleman now sitting on the Treasury benches was 72 1-2 per cent. of the total free list given to the world, and the free list enjoyed by Great Britain, was only 17 1-7 per cent. Was that brought about by natural causes? The hon. gentleman said this disparity in the figures was not the result of natural causes, and he and his Government were going to see that all that was changed. They have changed it, and changed it with a vengeance; and what is the result of all this? The result is that these astute gentlemen with whom they were negotiating, found that they were dealing with men who did not understand the subject with which they were charged, or, if they did, they had placed themselves in a most unfortunate position; and when they went to ask

the United States to make a commercial arrangement with a Government that had put on the Statute-book of the country a preference for England, what was their position? Why, Sir, they were met at once: Gentlemen, are you the same men who, in 1891, made those speeches in which you declared that all that Canada required to make it the most splendid country in the world, all that Canadians required to make them rich and prosperous from one end of the country to the other, was to get unrestricted reciprocity with us? If you are the same men, if you have not changed your principles, we are ready to negotiate with you; but if you have turned your backs upon yourselves, and if, instead of wanting unrestricted reciprocity with the United States of America and discrimination against England, which in 1891 you declared you were ready to adopt, you want to give a preference to Great Britain, then you are not the same men, and we have been deluded. We gave you, in the last general elections, from one end of the United States to the other, all the support and influence we could give you, in our press and in every other way, to bring you into power; and now, having got power, the men who told us they were heart and soul in favor of unrestricted reciprocity with the United States and discrimination against England, have put on the Statute-book discrimination against the United States. Yes, you say, that is quite true; but see what we did for you last session. we made corn free; we reduced the duties on iron, wheat, flour and all these other articles. Well, they replied, no doubt you did that in your own interest. We presume you were in such a miserable position in Canada, so dependent on the United States, that your own interests forced you to do that, and we do not intend to pay you for what your own interests compelled you to do.

In 1898 Canada took from the United States \$36,000,000 of domestic manufactures, exceeding the importation of these manufactures from Great Britain by at least \$6,000,000.

From England, the mistress of the industrial world, we imported \$6,000,000 worth of manufactured goods less than from the United States—not raw material required for our manufactures, but the manufactured goods themselves.

On August 1st, Consul General Bittenger, of Montreal, a gentleman who, like most of the Consuls General of the United States, is thoroughly alive to the interests of his own country, sent this report to his Government, and I ask my right hon. friend to read, mark, learn and inwardly digest his report on the position into which they have reduced this country, notwithstanding all their professions. The Consul General reports to his Government at Washington that:—

Comparing the trade of last year with that of 1893, the United States producers have a far better position in our market than ever, and the British producers occupy a place not nearly so favourable as that which they formerly held.

Is it any wonder that associated with gentlemen who, as I have shown—and I have followed them, step by step, from the hour they got into power down to the hour they went to Quebec—is it any wonder that associated with these gentlemen who, during these two years, did everything that a Government could do to make it impossible to get any intelligent American to listen to their proposals at all, after having given everything available away and having nothing left to give, that great man who led the British Commission, should, at the end of six months, have been forced to give utterance to that unhappy wail, which found expression in almost his last words: “It is too bad; we have spent six months here now, and have got nothing but a broken leg.” That is the position, and I repeat that had this Government been formed with the object of making it impossible for us to ever obtain any favorable trade arrangements with the United States, they could not have worked harder or more successfully to accomplish that result than they did in their two years of labour before they went to negotiate this treaty at Washington.

THE ADJOURNMENT OF THE CONFERENCE.

Well, I had occasion, when this treaty ended in this deplorable fiasco—for every person cannot but regard that as the position to-day—when it was found that on a question of great importance to Canada, the question of the delimitation of the boundaries between the United States and the Canadian North-west and British Columbia, when it was found that the only terms upon which the Americans were willing to have an arbitration at all were absolutely insulting to any man of intelligence engaged in negotiating such a question, to state that in my judgment the adjournment to the 2nd of August was a mistake from every possible point of view. (Applause). If the negotiations had then been terminated—as terminated they should have been—with the question of the boundary, which they had shown themselves utterly incapable of dealing with, left unsolved, we had Great Britain to look to, which is bound by every principle of justice and right to Canada, and Canada is in a position to demand that Great Britain shall put that question in a position in which it must be solved. Canada has the right with the interests she has imperilled, with the obstructions to her trade and the difficulties presented, to insist on that question being solved as all great international questions have to be solved. The United States, how-

ever powerful, must be brought to recognize the fact that they are dealing with a country as great and powerful as they, and therefore that question must be submitted to a fair and honourable international arbitration, just as England has, in every instance, submitted the rights and interests she has at stake on this continent and everywhere else to the adjustment of international arbitration. If they were not ready to do that, our Government should have said to them, then we shall adjourn this commission. (Cheers).

But the right hon. gentleman thought that he would have this advantage, and I do not envy him at all. He thought he would have the advantage of saying, when coming to the Parliament of this country, I am very sorry, but I am unable to disclose anything that has taken place, because these negotiations are not terminated. I say that in justice to Canada he was bound to terminate the negotiations. When he found he was dealing with parties who were utterly impracticable, he was bound to take the stand of asking the mother country to deal with this question of international law, and have it settled as all such questions are bound to be settled, and he should then have come to the Parliament of Canada and said: All my sunny ways have failed; I hoped that I would have had to deal with a generous and magnanimous people who, when they found I was ready to give all that I had at their bidding, would make some slight return, but we have failed in obtaining an adjustment of any of these questions, and I must be in a position to legislate for Canadians, as they have a right to expect they should be legislated for.

The New York "Times" does not quite accept the version given by my right hon. friend and Mr. Fairbanks. The New York "Times" as quoted in the "Globe" on the 25th February, says that the Alaska boundary is not the real point of contention, but the McKinleyism of the American Commission, and I do not think that my right hon. friend would like very much to contradict that statement. The New York "Times" says:—

The lumber duties, the coal duties and the arrangements for reciprocal trade are known to be subjects upon which the two commissions disagreed, and so far as the public is informed, their differences have never been adjusted.

My right hon. friend's colleague, the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) wrote on the 3rd of January a letter to a friend of his in Winnipeg, a member of the Corn Exchange, a letter which is published in the newspapers:

We, ourselves, at the present moment are in a state of uncertainty as to what the ultimate outcome will be.

And, no doubt, that was the position of matters when it was found that the Alaska boundary was about the best question they had to agree to disagree upon.

Having said so much, I feel it my duty to the right hon. gentleman and to the House to state frankly, for the benefit of hon. gentlemen opposite, the policy that we would propose, the policy that we



would be prepared to sustain hon. gentlemen opposite in adopting, and the policy which, if they do not adopt it, we shall feel it our duty to press upon the people as the best calculated to advance the interests of the country. The cardinal principle of that policy is the principle of protection, a principle that has been very largely acted upon by hon. gentlemen opposite. We go with the hon. Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton), on that point. We want to retain such protection as is given to Canadian industries and to repair the errors—not very serious, perhaps, but still errors—made by hon. gentlemen opposite in this re-

spect. Wherever they have departed from our policy they have made a mistake. Let me advise hon. gentlemen opposite to cling to the life-buoy of the National Policy. It has held your heads above water; you would have been submerged long ago; you would have been driven from that part of the House if you had not clung with the tenacity of death to that life-buoy. That is the first principle—protection. Wherever there is a Canadian industry that fair and legitimate protection will enable to flourish, give it protection and we will support you,

THE FAST ATLANTIC SERVICE.

Then, there is the Fast Atlantic Service I have already boldly challenged any gentleman on the other side to give a single instance in which this Government has done anything that has promoted the prosperity of Canada. I suggest the Fast Atlantic Service as one thing that they were compelled by the force of public opinion to profess to believe in and which they have, by their utter incapacity to deal with it in a business like manner, prevented from being carried into operation. (Cheers). Otherwise, to-day, we should have been in the enjoyment of it. When we went out of office we were in possession of a draft contract with Messrs. Allan, whose wealth and experience placed beyond doubt the excellent manner in which the service would be carried out; and when the late Governor-General declined to sign the Order in Council which would enable us to close the contract, I wrote to my right hon. friend a letter so that, by getting that promptly done on his accession to office, he would save two years in securing that important service. Where are we to-day? Why, I am afraid we are further away from the Fast Atlantic Service than ever before. And why? The money was provided. Parliament had placed upon the Statute-books an Act granting \$750,000 a year for the Fast Atlantic Service, authorizing the Government to pay that sum to the contractors who would accomplish it. Finding, when I was on the other side of the water, holding the office of High Commissioner, that it was impossible to secure that service for the subsidy offered, I went to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and, after the fullest examination, the Right Hon. Mr. Chamberlain agreed to stand in with Canada in the matter. He so completely recognized the Imperial as well as the Colonial importance of this great work that he agreed, on behalf of the Imperial Government to bear one-third the cost. He agreed that if Canada had to pay £150,000 he would ask the Imperial Parliament to supplement it with £75,000. Thus, a little over a million dollars was provided to the hand of the leader of the present Canadian Government. And why has the work

not been done? Because the right hon. gentleman refused, in the first place to accept the contract coming from the best possible source; and, in the second place, because he has been sending one of his colleagues, who is supposed to have the matter in hand, backwards and forwards—whether he wanted to keep him out of Canada I do not know; (laughter), but unless, that hon. gentleman finds an unsinkable ship, which I believe he is now searching for, he will I fear disappear altogether. This gentleman who has been specially charged with the work of bringing about the completion of this great project is the same gentleman who, after he became a member of this Government, went before the Board of Trade of Quebec, and denounced the Fast Atlantic Service. I do not think that is the way to accomplish this work. What did the Fast Service, as we had arranged it, provide? Not only would it have put us in most easy and rapid communication with the mother country, not only would it have enabled Canada to deliver the mails in the city of New York twenty hours earlier than they could be delivered by a direct line from Southampton to New York—this advantage being given us by our geographical position—but it would have brought a tide of travel and traffic through this country that would not otherwise come to it. (Cheers). More than that, the contractors were obliged to provide most ample cold storage at any time when demanded by the Government. What did that mean? It meant an increase in the value to the whole farming population of Canada of their meat, eggs, butter, fruit and all other perishable articles. A system of cold storage has enabled Australasia to triumph over ten thousands of miles of distance, to triumph over an equatorial climate and to surpass Canada in the butter markets of Great Britain. The cold storage system has enabled the United States, which have established depots in various sections of the country, with cold storage cars and ample cold storage in their Atlantic steamers, to put on the tables of the people of England throughout Great Britain all these articles in prime condition and at the earliest possible moment. There is not a farmer, not a man engaged in agricultural pursuits of any kind but would have been greatly enriched by the adoption of that service. Where is it to-day? I was glad to see that the Board of Trade of Quebec, had memorialized my right hon. friend and begged him to accept the proposition which the President of the Canadian Pacific Railway offered the other day. According to this memorial the President of the Canadian Pacific Railway—in his speech which was delivered before the Quebec Board of Trade and a large assemblage of people, declared that the Canadian Pacific Railway Company were anxious to see this work done. They were willing that any one should do it, willing

to join any person in order to accomplish it, but, if there was nobody else, they were willing to take it up and put on a fast service of a complete and efficient character for the million dollars which, I say, was provided to the hand of the leader of the Government before we left office. (Hear! Hear!) Not an hour should be lost. Already we have lost two years in this most important matter, and I trust that no more time will be lost, but that the subject will be taken up and dealt with vigorously.

EXPORT DUTIES.

Well, take another question. Those who have studied the question, are perfectly well aware that the policy to which the Minister of Finance obtained the unanimous approval of this House last year, ought now to be put into operation. My hon. friend was good enough to consult me, as I would have consulted him under similar circumstances, as to how this side of the House would regard the imposition of an export duty upon logs, spruce, pulp-wood and nickel ore; and I stated to my hon. friend at once, that, so far as I was concerned—and I thought that would also be the opinion of the hon. gentlemen on this side of the House—we would be prepared to support that policy. He obtained the power; he has got it on the Statute-book today. Now, Sir, the “Globe” newspaper, the organ of the present Government, has declared that all these proposals to have fair and friendly relations with the United States have failed—not that they are hung up, but they use the word “vetoed”—now that they are vetoed, they call upon the Government to adopt a Canadian policy, and to put an export duty on these articles in the interests of Canada. What is our position? We are shut out of the United States by the imposition of enormous duties upon the pine lumber that they require, and that the interests of their people call for in the strongest manner! What is our position? Why, Sir, I do not believe that hon. gentlemen opposite have ever read the information contained in two octavo volumes published by the Senate of the United States in 1890. These two volumes are replete with evidence, mark you Mr. Speaker, the sworn testimony of many witnesses. The Senate of the United States appointed a commission, who, traversed the whole country, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, all along the boundary, from Esquimaux and Vancouver, in British Columbia, to Prince Edward Island. They took the testimony of the best men and the ablest experts in that country. Sir, if any man who is proud of his country, wants to know what position Canada occupies, he has only to read that sworn testimony. What did they say on the Pacific coast? They said,

at San Francisco, at Seattle, and all those places: Why, your proposal to have reciprocity with Canada would kill us. We have not a pound of bituminous coal on the Pacific coast: we are depending upon Nanaimo. So superior is the lumber of the forests of British Columbia that free trade in lumber would close down every mill on the Pacific coast, because we cannot begin to compete with Canada. And so all along the line. They found that we had coal both on the Atlantic coast and on the Pacific coast. They found that we had forests far transcending in importance anything that the United States possessed. Every man who has studied this question, knows right well that within a comparatively few years the United States will be dependent for their lumber upon these magnificent forests of Canada, covering such an enormous extent of country. Take the question of the fisheries. At the international tribunal held in Halifax in which the Minister of Marine and Fisheries took part, he is aware, that, after all the sworn testimony that could be obtained from the highest experts in the United States, that commission declared that the value of the fisheries of Canada, over and above the right to enter all our fish free in the markets of the United States, was \$5,500,000 for twelve years use. Then, take the question of agriculture, and look at the condition of things in the two countries. In the United States, the population has almost overtaken the consumption, and will at no distant day overtake it. One of the highest authorities in the United States, who had been twenty years consul at Winnipeg, declared that north of the boundary line were three-fourths of the remaining uncultivated wheat fields of North America.

MINING LAWS.

Take the question of minerals. Why, with the boundless wealth of British Columbia, every one knows, that all we have to do to get fair consideration from the United States is to adopt their mining laws. That is not retaliation. There is no retaliation in one country adopting the legislation of another country. It is said that imitation is the sincerest flattery ; and you simply say : We have such a high opinion of your wisdom in making laws that we will make a copy of your laws and apply them to yourselves as you apply them to us. (Hear ! Hear !)

What would be the result ? Why, Sir, we know that in these rich mining districts, the Rossland district, the Slocan district and the Boundary district, which are to-day attracting the attention of the civilized world, gigantic fortunes have been made by American citizens, just as they are now making them in the Canadian Yukon country. So I say that we occupy a position to-day that enables us to say to them :

We will adopt your laws, and you must give to every Canadian in the United States precisely the same advantage that we give to Americans in Canada. If we did this, their laws would be swept from their statute-books in a month or as soon as they could pass the necessary legislation. (Applause). I ventured to say here, a year ago, that our true policy was to adopt their mining laws ; and what was the result ? I pointed out, at the opening of the session last year, that their eagerness to take advantage of the Yukon gold fields afforded us a good opportunity to obtain from the United States fair and just consideration for our own people, and within one month after I made that statement upon the floor of this House—I do not know whether it was propter hoc or post hoc, but I merely state the fact, that within a month after that statement was made, a Bill was introduced into Congress giving Canadians on the other side of the boundary in Alaska the same privileges that Americans had on the Canadian side, in the Yukon country. And so, I say that in the interest of Canada not an hour should be lost ; in my judgment, with regard to the Alien Labour law, with regard to the mining laws, and with regard to everything that touches the comity of the two peoples, we should simply say to those gentlemen ; We are anxious to make the most friendly, the most fair and just arrangement that can be made, but what you mete out to us you must expect to receive in return. We are bound to protect the interests of Canadian citizens on this side of the border, just as much as you are bound to protect the interests of American citizens on your side of the border.

THE CONSERVATIVE IRON POLICY.

Now, take the question of the iron policy of 1887. I have been occasionally taunted with the failure of that iron policy, but it is only by gentlemen who do not know anything about the subject. Where would be the iron trade of Canada but for the legislation of 1887 ? That policy would have accomplished everything that the most sanguine expected from it, had it not been for that which no man at that day could foresee, namely, that in a few years pig iron would fall to half its then value. I am glad to see that the Legislature of Nova Scotia is moving in this matter, for I believe there never was a time in the history of Canada when there was such a magnificent opportunity as there is at the present moment for the adoption of a comprehensive policy for the production of iron in this country, to give employment and to create I may say, a world-wide industry. So important do I consider this matter that I ventured to approach the Minister of Finance, the Minister of Railways and the Minister of Customs, and put before them the

evidence that if they would by Order in Council carry out the policy they had committed themselves to in regard to the extension of the bounty system on iron, capital could be obtained to set going at the earliest possible moment gigantic iron works in Canada that would revolutionize the whole of that industry. I am glad to say that the Nova Scotia legislature is approaching that subject, and I trust this Government will follow that up by such an extension of the policy to which not only the late Government, but the present Government are committed, as will build up a great iron industry in Canada. (Cheers.)

INTER-IMPERIAL PREFERENTIAL TRADE.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I want to say a word upon the subject of inter-Imperial preferential trade. It is very well known that this is a matter upon which my right hon. friend (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) has committed himself in the strongest possible way. I do not intend now to recriminate, I do not intend to refer to any question of violated pledges or anything of that kind, because I am sincerely anxious to promote a question that I believe lies at the very foundation of national progress in Canada, and which will give an impetus to our great agricultural community which cannot possibly be overrated. My right hon. friend and several members on the other side of the House have said : Well, your inter-Imperial preferential trade is all very well, but it is impossible to obtain. I want to draw their attention to the fact that within a few weeks we have evidence of the most conclusive character that there never was a time in the history of our country when the Government had such an opportunity of securing a great boon in the interests of the people on that very question. I was laughed to scorn when I advocated the adoption of a small duty upon corn and upon other products, and I was told that England never would be induced for a single moment to do anything of the kind, so that I was expending my efforts in vain. I again appeal to my right hon. friend now, in view of the statement in the London "Times" a few days ago, urging the British Government of the present day to grapple at once practically with the great question of placing the taxation of the country upon a proper basis by the imposition of duties upon wheat and sugar. Therefore, on the very highest authority we have it, that the case is placed in such a position that all that is necessary is active and zealous co-operation on the part of the Canadian Government to accomplish, at no distant date, this great object. (Cheers.) I dare say you will remember that it was only a short time ago that a very illustrious personage—I thought at the time a little out of order—gave

his opinion to the public in the city of Toronto to the effect that it was quite impossible that countervailing duties on sugar in England could ever be entertained. But, Sir, we find now that Lord George Hamilton, the Secretary of State for India, says that the Government propose—and the Indian Government can do nothing without the sanction of the Imperial Government—propose to consent to an Order in Council passed by the legislative council in India, which imposes countervailing duties on all sugars that come into India in competition with their own. So the whole case is given up, and all we have to do is to stand shoulder to shoulder and to ask the British Government, which at an early date will impose duties upon corn and other products, to leave the colonies in the enjoyment of that advantage they now possess of having free ingress to the British markets, so that the duties, if applied, might extend only to foreign countries. I press that policy as one of great importance on the right hon. gentleman and his friends.

THE PACIFIC CABLE.

I intend now to say a word upon the question of the Pacific cable and I would like to ask my right hon. friend in what position that question is to-day ? When I attained office, one of my first acts was to appoint Sir Mackenzie Bowell and Sir Donald Smith, now Lord Strathcona, in conjunction with Mr. Fleming, now Sir Sanford Fleming, as an expert, to go to England to represent Canada at the cable conference. That was caused by the fact that I went at the head of a deputation composed of all the agents general of the colonies to press upon Mr. Chamberlain the appointment of a commission upon the subject of a Pacific cable. Mr. Chamberlain, who is known to be a man of great financial ability and commercial experience, on that occasion stated that having examined the subject thoroughly, he had come to the conclusion that it involved no responsibility whatever, because he believed that the cable would pay for itself, and that in fact, at no distant date, instead of it being a charge upon the public revenue, it would be a source of income. I consequently had no hesitation in authorizing the commissioners representing Canada to agree if they could not get better terms, to be responsible for one-third of the cost of establishing the Pacific cable. This cable would make Canada a great highway, not only with China and Japan and all the east, but also with Australia, and in that way would immensely promote trade. As a matter of Imperial importance, as a matter of strengthening the defences of the Empire, it is impossible to overrate it, and when we satisfied ourselves that practically no monetary responsibility would be involved, I did not hesitate to give

the Canadian commissioners the authority I have referred to. Well, this matter has hung fire. The right hon. gentleman will correct me if he has been misrepresented, but in the "Standard" newspaper, which is one of the most reliable organs of the British Government, I find it stated that when the Pacific cable was proposed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the gentleman who took exception to it was my right hon. friend the Premier of Canada. It was stated that he (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) declared that he altogether failed to give his confidence to the calculations that had been made in reference to the scheme by the promoter, and that could refer to no person, I take it, except Sir Sanford Fleming. Sir Sanford Fleming has given years of his life to the study of this important question, and when his views were subjected to the most crucial test any expert's views could be subjected to, tenders being asked from eminent cable constructors for the laying and maintenance of the cable it was found that Sir Sanford Fleming had overrated the cost. Therefore I read with astonishment of the cold water that was thrown on this project by my right hon. friend when he stated that he altogether distrusted these calculations as far as they have gone. I hope he has had an opportunity of revising this opinion, and that that important work will at no distant date be undertaken.

THE PLEBISCITE.

Now, Sir, I want to refer to another subject which at this moment is attracting a good deal of attention, and which, unfortunately, by the mover and seconder of the Address, so far as I was able to follow them, appears to have been entirely overlooked, and that is the plebiscite. I am not very much surprised that those hon. gentlemen should have given the go-by to that very delicate subject; but my right hon. friend will remember that a year ago, when this plebiscite was proposed, I ventured to ask him what he intended to do in case a plebiscite was taken. I ventured to express the opinion that the leader of the House and of the Government, before committing the people of this country to an expenditure of a quarter of a million of money—I may overstate the cost, but we will assume that it will be something like that—should have given some indication of the course he intended to pursue. I do not intend at this time to go into the question whether that is an un-English mode of taking public opinion or not; but I say that when the right hon. leader of the House refused to give the slightest indication of what course in any event he would pursue, he struck a deadly blow at the interests of the temperance party in Canada; and I will show you my grounds for making that statement. Every person knows that no party, however

powerful and influential, can roll up a great vote on any question without the expenditure of a vast amount of labour and a very considerable amount of money. The necessary expenditure connected with agitating the country upon a question of that kind is very great. I did not ask my right hon. friend to say what he would do if there was a bare majority; but I said, suppose there is a great majority, a two-thirds majority, what will you do? My right hon. friend simply said: "After the plebiscite is taken I will then say what I will do." A position more unfair to the temperance people of this country could not have been taken than that. (Hear! Hear!) What is the result? Why, Sir, take an enthusiastic supporter of temperance—a man who believed it was his duty to do everything he could to accomplish the object in view. When he was approached to spend his time and money to promote the object in view, what did he say? "What is the good? The Prime Minister has virtually told us, as he told the deputation who went to see him on the subject, that it would entail an immense amount of direct taxation, and it is quite evident there will be no result." These gentlemen were utterly disheartened. But not only did the Prime Minister refuse to give this House and the people of this country the slightest indication of what he would do in any event, but when, in addition to that, I found the leading members of his Government spreading themselves over the country in the province of Quebec to denounce the plebiscite, and to induce the people to vote it down and prevent it having an effect, I came to the conclusion that it was a shameless imposition upon the temperance people of Canada to lead them to hope that anything could result from this plebiscite except the disappointment that is now stirring the hearts of that great and most important section of this community from one end of the country to the other. (Applause.)

IMPERIAL PENNY POSTAGE.

Now, Sir, I want to refer for a few moments to another subject that is introduced in the Address, and that is the Imperial penny postage. I do not intend to go into any very elaborate discussion of that question; but I say this in the outset, that there is no man in Canada who is prouder than I am to be able to claim anything for Canada that it has accomplished. There is no man in Canada more ready than I am to give the most ample meed of praise to any man, I care not on what side of politics he is or what position he occupies in this House, for anything he accomplishes in the interest of Canada. But, I confess, I do deplore and feel humiliated when I find gentlemen in this House and their friends undertaking to put forward claims for them that have no solid

foundation in fact. When I find claims made by hon. gentlemen that they have accomplished this or that or the other, which they know right well is the work of other men, and that they are endeavouring to reap where other men have sown, I have no respect for a course of that kind. Now, Sir, I notice in this celebrated speech of my right hon. friend in Montreal to which I have already alluded, this clause :

There is another reform: we have diminished the postal tariff, and the rate has now been reduced to two cents. This is a small thing in itself, yet it represents hundreds of thousands of dollars in the pockets of the people of Canada. We have established that rate for the whole British Empire.

Why, Sir, what does the hon. gentleman mean ? We—the Government of Canada—establish the postal rate for the whole British Empire ? Why, Sir, it is as unfounded in fact as the statement that “we” got the treaties denounced. And what does he mean by saying that this represents hundreds of thousands of dollars in the pockets of the people of Canada ? Hundred of thousands of dollars in the people’s pockets ? Is not the postal service to be paid for to-day as it was paid for yesterday ? (Hear ! Hear !) Does anybody suppose that because you transfer the cost, you can make anything free ? You could remove the whole postal charge altogether, yet everybody knows that the postal revenue did not then and does not now pay the cost of the service. Everybody knows that that service is a heavy charge on the people of Canada, as it was under the three-cent rate ; and to say under these circumstances that it represents hundreds of thousands of dollars in the pockets of the people is to make a statement which I think my right hon. friend will find it very difficult to sustain. But, Sir, what does “we” mean ? Do the Government expect to extend the rate to the whole Empire ? Does the whole Empire get it now ? The hon. gentleman knows that the whole continent of Australasia, including New Zealand, as well as South Africa have not got it to-day ; and yet “we” have given it to the whole Empire. I am doing my right hon. friend the greatest service when I am calling his attention to these extravagances of language that cannot be sustained.

If the Imperial postage is a matter of great Imperial concern, its inauguration is not due to my hon. friend nor any of the “We’s” about him. The hon. gentleman ought to know that Mr. Henniker-Heaton, the member for Canterbury, in England, spent twelve years of his life, night and day, fighting for this question of Imperial penny postage throughout the Empire. And for this little “We” to step in and wipe out Mr. Henniker-Heaton is an outrageous piece of presumption in contradiction with all the facts. Mr. Henniker-Heaton, after fighting all the officials of the Post Office Department with a vigour and determin-

ation that few men in any parliament have ever exhibited in any country or the world, succeeded, after long years, in convincing one of the ablest men in the United Kingdom that he was right. That man was the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, a gentleman who, when he becomes convinced, does not take very long to give expression to his convictions. What did Mr. Chamberlain say to my right hon. friend and the other premiers, when assembled in London during the Jubilee? He said :



I should also mention the desire which is widely felt, and which I share, for an improved postal communication with the colonies. I believe the matter entirely rests with the colonies themselves, and they have revenue difficulties in the matter which have hitherto prevented our coming to any conclusion ; but I confess that I think one of the first things to bind together the sister nations is to have the readiest and easiest possible communication between the several units, and as far as this country is concerned, I believe we are quite ready to make any sacrifice that may be required in order to secure

a universal penny post throughout the Empire.

What did my right hon. friend say to that proposal? Not a word. Did he second it? Did he say that Canada must prepare to adopt it? Not at all. He gave no support to the proposition whatever. But his friend the Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock), when he found these other gentlemen, his colleagues, coming back bedizined with all kinds of decorations, began to think it was time for him to look out for himself. Then "I, William Mulock" issued the very wonderful despatch which will not soon be forgotten. The revenue of New South Wales is \$45,993,523 a year ; but that colony was too poor to do what we had done, and declined distinctly to do it. That great colony, New South Wales, with nearly \$46,000,000 revenue, was not rich enough to adopt this imperial penny postage. The colony of Victoria, with a revenue of over \$30,000,000, was too poor to adopt it. The colony of New Zealand, with a revenue of \$26,250,000, was too poor, and declined distinctly, on the ground that it could not afford this luxury of an Imperial penny postage. The colony of the Cape of Good Hope, with a revenue of \$35,750,000 per annum, was also too poor ; and although that colony seconded the resolution, it refused to carry out the scheme unless England would bear a part of the expense. That is the position taken by these colonies.

Now, what has happened? I have been mortified, in the last degree, to find Canadians so wanting in intelligence as to put forward a claim

on the part of the Postmaster General of Canada (Mr. Mulock), that he it was who accomplished this scheme of Imperial penny postage. (Hear ! Hear !) I do not hesitate to say, that if any public man in the Government of England had done what the Postmaster General of Canada did, he would have ceased to be a member of the Government the next day, and would never have been heard of again in connection with the post office or anything else. To find this man deified and held up as the one who has accomplished this Imperial penny postage for the whole British Empire is a reproach to the intelligence of Canadians. What did our Postmaster General do ? He published, it appears, without the authority of an Order in Council—I see a smile pervading the countenances of his colleagues at my exempting them from the mortification of having been guilty of knowing what their colleague was doing—his ukase, “I, William Mulock”, by which he proclaimed to the world that, from such a day, every letter of an ounce weight should go to any part of the British Empire with a three-cent postage stamp on it. (Laughter). As soon as Her Majesty’s Government became aware of that proclamation, our Postmaster General was told that he did not know what he was doing. He was told that he had no such power, that the thing was altogether beyond the control of the Government of Canada, and that he could not do anything of the sort. Thereupon, out came another proclamation, cancelling the first one until further orders, and declaring that all letters would require ten cents per ounce postage instead of three cents per ounce. What was the result ? The Postmaster General found himself in this position, that every man who received one of these letters bearing a three-cent stamp, had to pay a fine of fourteen cents. He had to pay seven cents additional postage to bring it up to ten cents per ounce, and then, as short postage was punished by a fine, every man had to pay fourteen cents. Then, to extricate himself from this difficulty, the Postmaster General sent out instructions to his officials all through Canada, to do what they had no right to do—to put their hands into the consolidated revenue and make good the difference out of that fund. To tell me that the Postmaster General of Canada has got the postal revenue of this country to make ducks and drakes of as he pleases—the thing is monstrous. In violation of law and every principle of parliamentary government, he instructed his officials to do that which, if they did it without instructions, would be petty larceny, and nothing else. (Hear ! Hear !) What is his reply to that ? He said, the other day, that the British Government had done the same thing. But how the British Government could have done the same thing, when they never committed themselves to any such folly, is beyond comprehension. But, he added, they

told me to do that. That is worse still. In this year of our Lord, is it possible that a Canadian Minister shall be instructed by the British Government when to take money out of the consolidated revenue and spend it without authority? It is one of the most monstrous propositions I have ever heard.

ONLY A LITTLE ONE.

Then, he had another excuse, and it is one which had been made before on a very interesting occasion—the excuse that it was a very little one; it was only \$91.50. And this is the kind of man that is held up to the world as the founder of the Imperial penny postage system, to the utter obliteration of Sir Henniker-Heaton and the other men who have devoted years of efforts to this object long before our Postmaster General ever thought of it. But the proposition itself did not come from “I, William Mullock,” at all. I was in London at the time, and you will find in the “Daily Chronicle”, the organ of the Liberal party in London, the statement, that at the first meeting Sir David Tennant made the proposition for penny postage. The proposal of the hon. Postmaster General of Canada was not that at all. His proposal was, to send for three cents an ounce letters to every part of the British Empire. But no such thing exists to-day. No such proposal was heard of on that occasion. But Sir David Tennant’s proposal at the first meeting was, that Imperial penny postage should be adopted, and he represented the Cape of Good Hope. Then our Postmaster General, not willing to lose the opportunity, gave notice that he would move that at the next meeting, and did so. The suggestion, however, was not his, but that of Sir David Tennant. And it was adopted. As to the challenge I have made of the accuracy of the statement with regard to the British Government, I am willing to make an apology if the Postmaster General will lay on the Table of this House any evidence that the British Government did anything of the kind he suggests, or that in the course he took he acted under the instructions of the British Government. He did act under their instructions in cancelling his absurd proclamation, but that is all. I do not now discuss the question whether, for the sake of a United Empire, this reduction might not be made, but I say it was not done by Canada. We did not move in it originally nor did my right hon. friend second it when it was brought before him by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. It was an afterthought, and when the figures are analysed it will be found that, instead of hundreds of thousands being in the pockets of the people, a million dollars per annum will be taken out of the pockets of the people, to cover the deficit. When so rich a colony as New South Wales with a revenue of about \$46,000,000, says it is too ex-

pensive for them to bear it, we may be rich enough to bear these things and so cover ourselves with glory ; but I doubt if the people of Canada will be grateful when they find the heavy tax imposed for this service. I would call the attention of the Postmaster General to one of the gravest scandals of the present day, and that is the postal communication with the Yukon. While he has thus reduced the revenue of the post office, the people of that country have been suffering the greatest hardships and the most cruel injustice because of the scandalous and disgraceful state of the postal arrangements. (Applause). A correspondent in the Victoria "Colonist" says, March, 1899, he has not had a letter in four months, while his father, to whom the letter is written, says, that he has posted him letters at intervals of two weeks ever since his son has been absent. Then the "Globe's" special correspondent says :



The incoming mail service continues to be marked by its infrequency. With the exception of a small batch of letters, chiefly delayed summer mail, which arrived here on December 6th, and a bag of purely official matter which came in on January 1st, no mail has reached Dawson from the outside since September last. * * * This winter there are hundreds of people anxiously looking for business letters, letters that might save fortunes.

MAKING CANADA RIDICULOUS.

And yet this is the distinguished Postmaster General who has made Canada ridiculous in the eyes of the world by declaring that "We hold a vaster Empire than has been." Why, if Great Britain herself had said that, she would have made herself the butt of endless ridicule. For Canada to say it—"we hold"—by the way, that word "we" seems to be completely turning the heads of gentlemen on the other side. When did Canada "hold a vaster Empire than has been." We are all proud to know that Canada is the brightest gem in the Imperial diadem, we are glad to know that there is no section of this great Empire that commands more consideration than Canada does today. But why should we make ourselves ridiculous? I will not say as Goldwin Smith in his "By-stander" letters says that it is a "painted lie," but I protest against it. I ask as a personal favor, I ask as a matter due to the feelings of the people of Canada, that this ridiculous post office stamp be done way with. (Cheers.) "Punch" had a most ludicrous comment upon it. It gave half a dozen emblems, together with mottoes suitable for England and other countries. They thought it appropriate that England should

say "We have the tallest policeman in the world." I shall not attempt to say what France was supposed to say—my right hon. friend could do it better justice than I. The motto for United States emblem was "We can lick all creation." I can only say that the hon. Postmaster General has made all Canadians, unless they have a brush and water handy, lick the back of all creation in order to get a stamp stuck on a letter.

I have just a word or two to say with reference to a statement in the press that the Government are about to provide a telegraph service to the Yukon country. I am glad to see the Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Blair) in his place, because I happened, when in London, to see one or two letters written over the hon. gentleman's signature bearing on the subject, which letters appear to me to conflict with the statement that we are about to undertake the construction of a telegraph line. I found in the "Financial Times" of December 14th, 1898, a letter signed "A. G. Blair," which I will not read in extenso, though it is very interesting, but only that which is immediately pertinent to the question. The "Financial Times" says: "This was made clear by the following letter, addressed last October by Mr. Blair, the Canadian Minister of Railways and Telegraphs, to the gentleman who was arranging the Northern Commercial Telegraph Company." The letter is dated 6th October, 1898, and says, in part :

I told this gentleman very frankly that my department had an understanding with you, and that we were giving you the preference, at least until we were satisfied that you were delaying in pushing the work unduly, and I said that upon that point we would be in no position to form an opinion till next spring.

Then there is another letter also dated 6th October, 1898:

I am very much pleased indeed to learn that it is your intention, representing the Northern Commercial Telegraph Company (Limited), to proceed without unnecessary delay with the construction of the telegraph line from the coast into Dawson City, to be followed thereafter with reasonable despatch by the laying of a cable or cables from Vancouver to the point of connection with the land line.

I draw attention to these letters because I cannot understand, how, as there are two companies, both, I believe, floated in London for the express purpose of carrying out this work, and the hon. Minister of Railways and Canals had declared that he was ready to give the preference to one company, the Government could undertake the construction without other authority.

THE PROPOSED GERRYMANDER.

I now come to a subject that I should fail in my duty to this House and to the country if I did not draw attention to, and that is something that does not appear in the Speech. I can hardly say that it does not appear in the Speech, because there is a clause that has such a close relation to it that I suppose it may be held to be inclusive. But I draw the attention of the House to the fact that the only proposition that is made to this House is for a rearrangement of the electoral districts. Now, I want to ask my right hon. friend where he gets the authority for a rearrangement of the electoral districts. Canada has existed for some thirty-two years, and I believe I am correct in saying that in that period it has been regarded as a part of the constitution of Canada that a general arrangement of the electoral districts can only take place at a stated period, and that is after a decennial census. Now, I would like to know from my right hon. friend where he finds authority for this fresh innovation in the constitution of Canada — for I regard it as nothing else. I say it is without precedent that this House, called at this late period of the year, at a period most inconvenient for hon. gentlemen to remain here at any great length of time, should be placed in a position to have to deal with such a measure as this, a measure that must keep us here for a very long period. What is the object? What is the necessity? I have stated that the constitution provides for a rearrangement of the electoral districts only after a decennial census; and since Canada was confederated there has never been anything but a temporary readjustment of some particular locality owing to some circumstances which had occurred, as an exception to that rule. Therefore, I challenge the right of the hon. gentleman to adopt such a course. What is the meaning of it? We went to the country in 1896, and the right hon. gentleman, by means to which I have already alluded, secured a majority. Is he afraid to go back to that constituency? He boasts of carrying the by-elections. It is too late tonight to go into the question of by-elections, for I think I could enlighten the House a little as to the way by-elections are carried. I see my hon. friend the Minister of Public Works with his hands over his face, enjoying the idea of the mode in which by-elections are carried. He has much experience in that matter. Sir, I am afraid that these things indicate that the right hon. gentleman, having obtained improperly by means that cannot be repeated, a majority in this House, wants to escape a verdict of that electorate that he represents today. (Cheers). Last session we had this precious elect-

oral law, which means handing over the most unscrupulous and most dishonest manipulation the electoral lists in the various provinces, with the control of the franchise of this independent House of Commons of Canada. It meant that a fair and open contest in the presence of the electorate as it exists today and existed in 1896, would fail to give the hon. gentleman a similar success. But it appears that it is not enough. Where are you with your electoral law? Why, Sir, the hon. gentleman says that he has kept one pledge, at all events, made to the people of this country, and that was that he would pass a new electoral law. He never kept his pledge. He promised that he would accept the law, pure and simple, as it existed in the various provinces for the Dominion elections, but he made twenty alterations of the most important character, and entirely changed the Act from that which he had led the House to expect he would pass. To-day the hon. gentleman has discovered that owing to the utter incapacity—I say it boldly—of this Government to do anything in a businesslike and statesmanlike manner, they find themselves in a hole, and they are trying to find some way out of it. I defy the hon. gentleman to hold a general election in Canada today. (Cheers.) He has torn the former election law to pieces, but has substituted nothing practical to take its place; and today he finds the law is either violated, or is a dead letter throughout the whole of Canada, or else is utterly wanting in all those provisions that are necessary to carry out an election. But it appears that it is not enough to change the franchise to suit him, it is not enough to get the local legislatures to do his work in the various provinces, and now we are to have a redistribution in violation of the constitution, contrary to the principle that the constituencies shall only be adjusted after each decennial census. Why is this proposal interjected now? Here we are in the beginning of the spring, at a time when every member wants a short session, so that he can return to his home, and here is flung down before us this proposal to readjust the boundaries of the constituencies. Is the hon. gentleman afraid of the constituencies that sent him here? Is he afraid to repeat the means by which he got here last time? It looks as if the hon. gentleman could only fight a battle with the great Conservative party of Canada with loaded dice, as if he were afraid to challenge the people on that great issue. Sir, we are ready to meet him in the presence of the great electorate of Canada at any hour. If he brings forward this measure there will be a long story before it passes through the House and becomes law.

THREATENED DESTRUCTION OF THE SENATE.

But what is the first step that the hon. gentleman takes in regard to this measure, this gross and palpable violation of the constitution of our country? Why, Sir, he breaks away from all those important negotiations in Washington, and he hies himself up to Montreal to attend a banquet, to proclaim to the people of this country the policy of the Government of Canada upon one of the most vital and important questions that ever was propounded, and that is the destruction of the Canadian constitution in regard to the security that the Senate affords. Now, Sir, what is the hon. gentleman's proposal? A more mad, a more silly, I do not hesitate to say, a more absurd proposal never emanated from the mouth of man. (Hear! Hear!) You may search the civilized world to-day where liberal institutions exist, and I defy you to find a single case in which so monstrous, so absurd, so utterly and so absolutely untenable a proposal was ever made as this proposal to which the hon. gentleman has committed himself in Montreal. He says

The reform we propose is this: When there is a conflict between the Senate and the popular House, then there should be a joint vote and the majority should carry. That, gentlemen, is the reform which we have to propose to the people of Canada.

Sir, what does that mean? It means to tear up from the very foundation the confederation of Canada. It means to take out the key-stone of the arch upon which that confederation was built, and to let the whole thing topple down. I see that the Minister of Marine (Sir Louis Davies) is amused; but let me draw his attention to what has happened. What was the position of Old Canada when George Brown, the great leader of the Liberal party—a man who would suffer martyrdom before he would commit himself to such a monstrous proposition as this—when George Brown, the great leader of the Liberal party, joined hands with Sir John Macdonald to raise Canada from the desperate position she then occupied. As everybody knows, under the then constitution of Canada, Upper Canada and Lower Canada were represented in the Parliament of Canada by an equal number of members. That constitution was formed in 1841, and went into operation in 1842, and Lower Canada had then a much larger population than Upper Canada, and they bitterly complained that they should be forced into a union with Upper Canada and have no more representatives in the legislature than a province with a much smaller population. What happened? A few years afterwards,

by reason of immigration, the tables were turned, and Upper Canada had a much larger population than Lower Canada. Then George Brown, the leader of the Liberal party, led a fierce onslaught on the constitution of the country, demanding a change by which they would have representation by population. Lower Canada replied: You denied that principle to us when we were in the majority, and why should you force it upon us now that we are in the minority? Under that condition of things, so closely were the parties balanced, so impossible had government become, neither party having a majority to govern the country, that five new administrations appeared in two years. The country was ruined financially and commercially; no legislation could pass, except as a matter of compromise, and the position of the country was deplorable. What then? In 1864 a conference assembled at Charlottetown for the purpose of forming a legislative union between Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, and the Governor General of Old Canada wrote to the governors of the three provinces, asking for the admission of the representatives of the coalition Government of Canada, which had been formed upon the principle of obtaining either the confederation of British North America, or, failing that, to separate Upper and Lower Canada and unite them federally. We received that deputation with open arms; we heard their statements, and when they pointed out to us the deplorable condition in which Canada was, that her 6 per cent bond securities were forced down to 71, and that the business of the country was paralyzed, we listened sympathetically to their statements. As a result, we adjourned to the city of Quebec, and in October, 1864, there met there thirty-three gentlemen, representing, not one party nor one province, but representing both parties in Upper Canada, Lower Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. Both parties were represented from every province except Newfoundland, which does not come into the question, as it does not form a part of the confederation. At the Quebec Conference we came to the conclusion, after long and careful consideration, that it was our duty, as citizens of British North America, as men who wanted to preserve intact the glorious British institutions we possess, to consider this question of the union of British North America. And, Sir, what was the very key-stone of that union? I will read the statement of the great leader of the Liberal party of that day, and I believe it will be accepted here as absolute evidence that without that principle being embodied into the confederation of Canada, no union could be accomplished. He said:



The very essence of our compact is that the union shall be federal and not legislative. Our Lower Canada friends have agreed to give us representation by population in the Lower House on the express condition that they shall have equality in the Upper House. On no other condition could we have advanced a step; and, for my part, I am quite willing they should have it. In maintaining the existing sectional boundaries, and handing over the control of local matters to local bodies, we recognize, to a certain extent, a diversity of interests, and it is quite natural

that the protection for those interests, by equality in the Upper Chamber, should be demanded by the less numerous provinces.

Mr. Speaker, today I speak, not only in the presence of this House, but of the country, when I say that no union, no confederation could have been achieved except upon the principle that representation by population in the House of Commons should be safeguarded by an independent Senate, whose members were nominated by the Crown for life, and in which Quebec would have twenty-four members, the same as Ontario, whose population was much larger, and Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island should together have twenty-four Senators also, although their population was much smaller than even that of Quebec. (Cheers.) What is this proposal which is now made? It is a proposal to strike at the very foundation of this principle of confederation. I brand every man in the great province of Ontario who would support such a proposition, as guilty—not of treason to his country, because it may suit Ontario—but I brand him as guilty of the worst description of bad faith in going back upon the pledge under which the province of Quebec and the smaller provinces were induced to enter into this confederation. I am not surprised that the First Minister was obliged, in company with his friend the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte), to hie himself away to Quebec to dragoon the leader of that province into giving support to such a proposition. They found, after all their communications had failed, that the Legislature of Quebec was about to rise without giving them support in this matter. And why? Because there is not an intelligent man in the province of Quebec—and I say it fearlessly—who knows what he is doing, who recognizes what this project would be, that does not know that by supporting it he is cutting the throat of his province. (Hear! Hear!)

I feel, Sir, that now, in the last years—I might almost say in the last months, or hours—of my life, I would be only too glad to be exempt from the labour and difficulty which such work involves; but I feel that I would be faith-

less to the Crown, faithless to Canada, faithless to this great Empire to which we belong, if I did not consecrate every hour of my life to meeting on the threshold this dire attempt to subvert the very foundations of this Canadian Confederation. I have not a complete knowledge of the French language; but, Sir, I will make it my business to visit every part of the province of Quebec, and, with the assistance of my able friends and compatriots on this side of the House, I shall be prepared to meet the Minister of Public Works or the Prime Minister of this Government, and let it be fairly debated in the presence of intelligent men, whether Sir George E. Cartier, Sir Etienne Tache, or Sir Hector Langevin, would not have burned their hands off in the fire before they would have assented to a confederation on any such principle. I do not hesitate to say that no power could have induced either Nova Scotia, New Brunswick or Prince Edward Island to have any lot or part in this Confederation if they had supposed that any party which obtained power, as this party has obtained power could, without the due sanction of the people of this country, lay their unholy hands on the ark of confederation itself, and endeavor to destroy that work which I need not say to this House has made this Dominion of Canada a country of which every Canadian can be proud. (Cheers).

Now, Sir, what is the reason that it is not in the Speech? Will the right hon. gentleman tell us why, having come fresh from Washington to announce that this was the policy of his party, he has been prevented from putting it in the Speech, and submitting it as a subject for this House to deal with? The right hon. gentleman knows that before we can take one step towards the subversion of the constitution of Canada in this regard he has to have not only the authority of this House, but the authority of the Senate of Canada. There is not a man sitting in that House who does not hold his position for life under the authority of an Act of the Imperial Parliament; and the Imperial Parliament never was known in its history to go back upon its solemn pledges and declarations as a legislative body. (Applause.) What more? Why, Sir, the unanimous vote of this House and of the Senate of Canada would not accomplish the object unless every province in this Dominion from the Atlantic to the Pacific that is a constituent part of this confederation, on due notice and after an election, ratified it as well. In 1893 you spoke of a reform of the Senate. Some suggested that the members should be elected by the people and some that they should be elected by the legislatures. You now propose that the relative proportions should be changed, because when the Senate and the House of Commons disagree you propose to turn in the House of Commons to

swamp the Senate, and to entirely ignore the very basis of security upon which the confederation of this country was built. Well, Sir, what is your excuse? The "Globe" newspaper tells us that the first crime for which the Senate of Canada ought to be beheaded is that it ratified the Canadian Pacific Railway contract. Why, Sir, can anybody imagine a man with the hardihood to say in the face of the people of this country that that which has made a nation of Canada—for we were a paper nation without it—that gigantic work which has given us communication from end to end, which has made a great country of Canada, and without which we would be comparatively helpless today, was a wrong to Canada? The charge is that too much was given. Let me meet that charge here and now. It is not true—I may say that, Mr. Speaker, when I am talking of the "Globe", at all events. What is the fact? The fact is that when all the subsidies were given—and I give to the right hon. gentleman the testimony of a man whose word he will take as soon as that of any man living, and that is Lord Strathcona—that after all the resources of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, with all their subsidies, were exhausted, and the work was likely to break down and collapse in 1884, it was saved in that critical hour by Lord Strathcona pledging every dollar of his private resources to raise money to carry the enterprise through. And then it would have broken down and failed—I do not hesitate to say, because I happen to be in a position to know—had I not been able to come down to this House in the session of 1884 and induce it to make a loan of \$30,000,000 over and above everything else that was given. What more? Why, Sir, the "Globe" says that Mr. Blake made a great speech in opposition to this contract. So he did; but he made another great speech out on the coast of British Columbia, when he had the manliness to say that when he had opposed the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, he had no conception of what that great western country was. (Cheers.)

THE DRUMMOND COUNTY & YUKON RAILWAY BILLS.

Now, Sir, I do not intend to follow this subject further than to say that the grounds which the right hon. gentleman gives to the people of Canada for this attempt to subvert one of the most important institutions of the country is the crime the Senate committed in rejecting the Drummond County Railway contract and the Yukon Bill. Let me turn his attention for one moment to these two questions. I do not intend at this hour to go into them at any length; but I will say this, that the statement that is put forward by the "Globe," and also, I think, by the right hon. gentleman, that something of this kind was contemplated in the proposed

constitution of Australia, is entirely incorrect. (Hear ! Hear !) No such proposal as this has ever been dreamed of in any part of the civilized world before. The hon. gentleman, if it is original with him, may have the satisfaction of knowing that no great mind has ever jumped to the same conclusion as he did. But supposing it was the case in Australia; the position there is entirely different. In Australia the legislative councils are now elected by manhood suffrage, the same as the houses of assembly, and it is proposed that the Senate of Australia shall also be elected by manhood suffrage. But is it proposed that when the two Houses differ they shall be turned in to vote together ? Not at all. What is proposed in the constitution of Australia is that if there is a deadlock between the Senate and the House of Commons, both Houses shall be dissolved, and after they have come back from the election they will then vote in a common chamber and decide the question. There is no necessity, therefore, for this proposed machinery.

The hon. gentleman knows right well that when the Senate, in the exercise of an imperative duty, rejected the Government railway scheme, all he had to do to make that scheme law was to dissolve the House of Commons and get a majority returned which would pass that bill over again, and thus remove the difficulty, because in that case the British constitution comes into play. (Cheers). Under that constitution, whenever the House of Lords rejects a Bill from the House of Commons, they do it because they do not believe that the promoters of the Bill represent the country. It is then the duty of the Government of the day, if they still insist on the Bill, to dissolve the House, appeal to the country, and get a new House of Commons to pass the same Bill *'ipsissima verba,'* and the House of Lords will then accept it without the slightest hesitation. Therefore, as there is to be a dissolution in Australia and an appeal to the country before a vote is taken, how can any man say that there is any parallel or example to be found in Australia for what is here proposed. That proposal is to take away all the security which the present constitution of Canada gives to the smaller provinces.

I do not intend to detain the House further than to show what are the facts with regard to the Drummond County Railway Bill. Does the right hon. gentleman not know that he has himself confessed that he and his Government were all wrong in that measure, and that the Senate were right ? Does he not know that the public records of this country prove that by the rejection of that Bill the Senate of Canada saved something like a million dollars to our people. That is the position, and the right hon. gentleman finds himself hoisted by his own petard. That which he assumes as a ground of complaint against the Senate of Ca-

nada is one of the highest claims they have to-day to the confidence of the mass of the people. Sir, what about the Yukon Bill? On that Bill, as the right hon. gentleman knows right well, his Government stands equally condemned by what has subsequently taken place. What has taken place since the House last met? I shall not go into the whole story, because the hour is too late, but he knows that the Minister of Public Works sent one of his ablest officers, Mr. Coste, over that Stikeen route and over the Bennett Lake and White Pass, and what has been the result? Why, his own officer has condemned the Stikeen river route altogether, and declared that under existing circumstances, Dawson City can be reached from Victoria in seven or eight days. Therefore, so far as these measures are concerned, the Senate of Canada enjoys the proud position of knowing that at a most important time, when millions of public property, untold millions almost of public property were at stake, they stepped into the breach and protected the people of this country against measures that are denounced by the Government's own officers, and against a Government which, if it dared to dissolve the House and appeal to the country on these iniquitous measures, would have been wiped out of existence. Yet, the rejection of these measures is the ground now taken for attacking the Senate of Canada.

I must apologize to the House and my right hon. friend opposite for having occupied their time at such length, but I must throw the responsibility on these gentlemen, who have so mismanaged the public affairs of this country as to demand this too lengthy criticism at my hands.

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